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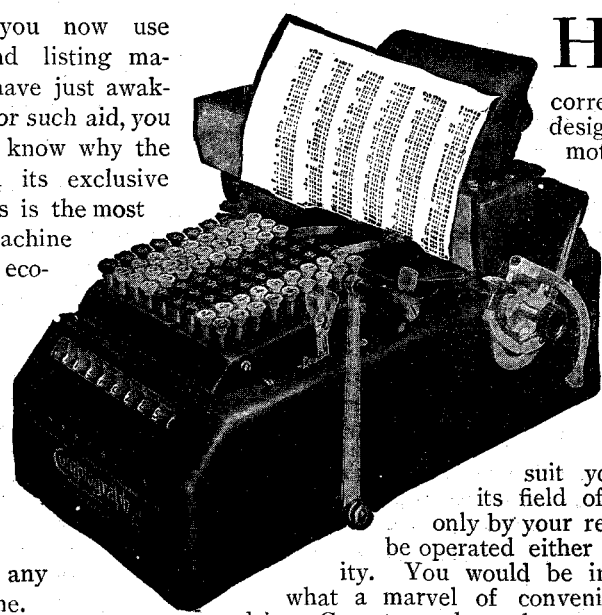

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The Outlook

JANUARY 14, 1911

LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor-in-Chief. HAMILTON W. MABIE, Associate Editor
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Contributing Editor

A LONDON MELODRAMA: ACT ONE

A melodrama in two acts, with a strong element of tragedy and what must appear to American readers as a liberal dash of farce, has been absorbing the attention of the British people to the exclusion of every other thought, even of election results, Parliamentary programmes, the impending fate of the House of Lords, and Home Rule. On the night of the 16th of December two policemen were patrolling Houndsditch, a street lying between the business districts of the City and the squalid districts of the East End. Their suspicions were aroused by curious sounds of hammering in a house recently rented by some foreigners in a small court back of a jeweler's shop. Reinforcements were sent for, and five other policemen soon came. One policeman knocked at the door, which was thereupon opened about six inches, but no reply could be obtained to any questions. When the foreigner who opened the door turned and went upstairs, the policeman stepped inside the house, and in an instant he was shot from a doorway on the other side of the hall. He either fell backwards or was pushed through the open front door, and in another moment a hand was thrust out holding a pistol which opened fire up and down the street. "In a few seconds," says the "Spectator," "Sergeant Bryant was leaning, wounded, against the house, Bentley was lying on the pavement, Choat and Woodhams were lying in the road further away. Martin fell over, but was not wounded. Strongman was also lying in the road. 'It was only two seconds after the first report,' said Martin, 'that they were all lying in the street.'" Three of the policemen were killed and two others seriously wounded. The murderers escaped, but later in the night, in a quarter not far from the scene of the murders, there was found, under mysterious circumstances, by a doctor who was summoned to attend him, a foreigner who was mortally hurt, and who, before he died, declared that he had been shot by a friend through a mistake. In explanation of the one-sidedness of the battle, it should be said that the London police do not carry firearms except on extraordinary occasions when they are detailed for specially dangerous work. Here ends the first act in the melodrama, swiftly tragic in its movement.

THE SECOND ACT: TRAGIC FARCE

The curtain rose on the second act of the drama two weeks and a half later. The police had discovered, in a house in the Whitechapel District, two members of the Anarchist gang which was supposed to have been responsible for the murder of the policemen—men rejoicing in the picturesque appellations of "Dutch Fritz" and "Peter the Painter." Their hiding-place was discovered in the early morning. Two families who occupied the lower floor of the house were withdrawn by the police, and a woman who lived on the same floor with the Anarchists was got out by a neighbor sent up with a decoy message. A large body of police surrounded the house, and in a few moments a pitched battle was on between the two Anarchists and the surrounding cordon of police. The Anarchists were well armed with automatic pistols and supplied with abundant ammunition. Their fire was continuous and accurate, and a number of minor casualties, both among the police and among spectators, were the result. For hours the battle went on, the attacking force

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being continually reinforced until fifteen hundred police, two half companies of Scots Guards from the Tower of London, and a battery of rapid-fire guns from the Royal Horse Artillery were drawn up against the slender garrison. The artillery was not used, but police and soldiers, posted about the house and on roofs of neighboring buildings, poured a continuous fire into the windows. A corps of nurses was brought to the scene and treated the wounded among the attacking force and the spectators. Thousands of spectators crowded about the firing zone, kept back by the lines of police. High prices, it is said, were paid by spectators for positions of vantage on neighboring roofs. The Assistant Commissioner of Police was in command, and Mr. Winston Churchill, the Home Secretary, in whose Department are the Metropolitan police, was a prominent figure in the scene, advising with the commanders of the police and the soldiery. The firing continued all the morning and into the afternoon, with all the honors on the side of the besieged, until the house which they were defending was discovered to be on fire. Whether it was set on fire by the Anarchists, or caught from the piles of straw which were burned about the building in the hope of smoking them out, is apparently not known. A fire company was brought to the scene, but no attempt was made to extinguish the flames until the house had practically burned down, carrying its defenders with it.

"AND THE MORAL OF THAT IS—"

The methods employed by the British authorities for apprehending two men, however desperate in character, appear to Americans, if not to Englishmen, extraordinary. An American cannot help thinking that, if the incident had occurred in New York, a small body of policemen would have gone into the building without flourish of trumpets or the assistance of soldiers, machine guns, a member of the Cabinet, nurses, fire department, spectators, or camera-men, and "got" the men they wanted, at whatever danger to themselves. Such a procedure would perhaps have meant injury or death for one or more of the apprehending force, and such an outcome would have been in the last degree regrettable. But, after all, the policeman's career is one in which the element of danger is inevitable; and, just as the individual policeman may sometimes sacrifice too much by trying to avoid danger, so his superior officers may sometimes sacrifice too much by trying to save him from danger. Such a spectacle as London saw on January 3 can hardly be good either for the *morale* of the police, for its prestige among the lawbreaking classes, or for its influence in general as a preserver of peace. To a non-English observer it might well appear that especially the first act of this drama furnishes a strong argument for the providing of the London police with firearms. But it must be remembered that the opposite policy has, until now, produced excellent results. Crimes of violence are rare in England, and burglars and other lawbreakers seldom themselves make use of firearms. The series of incidents has a broader bearing for the English people in its relation to the Government's treatment of Anarchists and in general of alien immigration. The British Government, unlike the other governments of Europe, has made a practice of not molesting reputed Anarchists residing in London, provided they commit no overt acts within the United Kingdom. London is generally reputed to be the center of much Anarchistic activity, whose visible results appear only in other European countries. The Houndsditch murders and the "Battle of Mile End Road" will doubtless arouse England to closer observation and stricter regulation of her Anarchistic citizens, and to more stringent enforcement of her laws against alien immigration.

BRIBERY AS A LOCAL CUSTOM

For many years persons who were solicitous about the political morals of Ohio have been hearing reports of evil conditions prevailing in some of the southern counties of the State. Stories were told of voters coming to the voting-places in platoons and sitting on the fences all day long because no man had hired them to vote for the candidates of their own party. These tales were generally supposed to be more or less apocryphal—the product

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of vivid imaginations. Within the last few weeks, however, there has been written on the records of the Common Pleas Court of Adams County, Ohio, a recital which proves that rumor has been following far behind fact. Under the probing of Judge A. Z. Blair of that court, and a Grand Jury of intelligence and force, a state of things has been coming to light which makes the most lurid tales of the muckrakers look pale by contrast. Nearly fifteen hundred voters had, at the latest reports, been indicted by the Grand Jury for selling their votes in the last election, and the list was swelling by the addition of one hundred or more indictments every day. It seems probable that before the investigation is completed more than one-third of the six or seven thousand voters of the county will have been indicted. Indicted voters are coming to the county seat in troops from all parts of the county, receiving sentence, and accepting the penalty. In most cases a light fine is imposed, with a workhouse sentence, which is suspended, and in every case the offender is disfranchised for five years. The knowledge that this lenient treatment will be given to those who voluntarily come into court and plead guilty, while the full penalty of the law, which involves a heavy fine and imprisonment, will be inflicted on those who try to evade the law, makes the indicted men eager to come in and accept the terms offered by the court. There have been but three or four who pleaded not guilty, and these men, against whom the offense was easily proved, are now in the workhouse. It appears that up to date only the sellers of votes have been indicted. Intimations have been given out that buyers of votes would presently be called to account, but that has not yet been done. The reason of this procedure is not stated. Judge Blair appears to be a clear-headed and kind-hearted magistrate, and he must be supposed to have good reasons for his policy. There are, of course, many more sellers than buyers—probably ten times as many; and the policy of using the buyers to catch the sellers will undoubtedly produce larger results. The party committee men who have done the buying are well known, and by granting them immunity the authorities may obtain the names of the vote-sellers. There seem to be no grudges harbored by the vote-sellers against those who are thus exposing them; probably all parties feel that they are escaping with light punishment. Perhaps the balance may be redressed before the proceeding is ended; and in all such cases, when wide-branching evils are exterminated by law, some sore straining of the equities must be looked for.

WHAT'S TO BE DONE?

It is instructive to note that this slump of citizenship has not occurred among foreigners or negroes, nor in the slums of cities, but in a purely rural population, and among voters of native American stock. Adams County is one of the Ohio River counties, about fifty miles east of Cincinnati; its surface is rough and rugged, its population consists almost wholly of farmers; it has no manufactures of importance; it is traversed by but one railway; its county seat, West Union, is the only one in the State not on a railway line. There is no village or city in the county with a population of two thousand. The original settlers were from Virginia, Kentucky, and the north of Ireland. It is in such a population as this that the practice of bribery in elections has grown to such dimensions. It is not a recent development. For many years the evil work has been going on; many of those now arraigned testify that the thing was so common that they supposed it was all right. It was not only poor men who accepted bribes; well-to-do farmers sold their votes for a good round figure; two or three ministers of the Gospel are among the indicted. From $10,000 to $25,000 was distributed at every election; if there were two thousand bribe-takers, this would make the average price of a vote in a good year twelve dollars. The money seems to have been mainly expended by the committeemen among the voters of their own party; there was a gentleman's agreement among them that neither partisan was to poach upon the other's domain. This was done surreptitiously, but it was under the ban. The purchase of votes, as a rule, was done with the utmost openness; the buyers met the sellers in the public streets and bought voters as they would buy cattle in the markets. Is Adams County

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the sole offender among the eighty-eight counties of Ohio? It is not probable. The Adams County people say that similar conditions prevail in six or eight of the neighboring counties, and there seems to be ground for their assertion. It is likely that similar investigations will be set on foot by grand juries in other counties. The people of Adams County appear to be disposed to take credit to themselves as being the first to deal thoroughly with a great public wrong. Perhaps that credit is due them. Governor Harmon, in his recent Message, deals with the matter briefly but trenchantly. He emphasizes the maxim that the briber is the more dangerous and more disreputable person, and urges that the law be administered with this principle in view; he deplores the repeal of the Garfield corrupt practices law, which the politicians of Ohio lately found inconvenient and put out of the way, and recommends its re-enactment; and he makes a much more radical suggestion—that the State undertake to provide for all the necessary expenses of elections and make all party expenditures for such purposes illegal. Some such stringent remedy may be found necessary. As between the seller and the buyer of votes we do not find it as easy to choose as Governor Harmon does. In any case, it is evident that in certain portions of Ohio, and doubtless also in other sections of the country, much elementary teaching is needed in the ethics of democratic citizenship.

NEW LIFE IN SENATORIAL CONTESTS

Last week the Democratic joint caucus of the Ohio Legislature nominated Lieutenant-Governor-elect Atlee Pomerene for United States Senator to succeed the present incumbent, Charles Dick, a Republican. As the Democrats control both houses of the Legislature, the nomination means that, at a joint session of the Legislature this week, Mr. Pomerene will be formally elected. The action of the caucus represents a victory of the Democratic Progressives over the Democratic machine, and will, we are sure, strengthen the Progressives of New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey in their similar contests. Mr. Pomerene is forty-seven years old. He was born in Ohio, and spent his boyhood on a farm there. In 1884 he was graduated from Princeton with honors, and two years later from the Cincinnati Law School. In the contest for the Federal Senatorship Mr. Pomerene has missed no opportunity of proclaiming himself the candidate of the people, as opposed to his rival for Senatorial honors, Edward W. Hanley, Chairman of the Democratic State Committee. The Pomerene-Hanley contest was distinguished by three features: First, though the Legislature had been elected, the candidates stumped the State, speaking every night somewhere, thus recognizing the principle that the people, and not merely the Legislatures, should choose United States Senators. Second, the stumping was done mostly by the candidates together in joint debate, a proceeding almost unknown since Lincoln-Douglas days. Third, Mr. Pomerene's strenuous stand apparently induced Mr. Hanley to disclose some tendency toward espousing more progressive policies. This same influence over a supposed reactionary has also been marked in New York State, where the Senatorial contest has narrowed down apparently to one between William F. Sheehan as representative of "the interests," and Edward M. Shepard as representative of the people. In Connecticut the contest remains between the present Senator, Morgan G. Bulkeley, as representative of "the interests," and ex-Governor George P. McLean, as representative of the people. In New Jersey the contest between ex-Senator James Smith, Jr., as representative of "the interests," and James E. Martine as representative of the people, continues more sharply than ever. The bi-partisan system used by "the interests" was well defined by Governor-elect Wilson in a great speech at Jersey City last week when he said that Mr. Smith represents not a party but a system—a system of political control which does not belong to either party, and which, so far as it can be successfully managed, must belong to both parties. In the same speech Governor Wilson gave expression to his Nationalism in the following significant words:

> There are some representatives of that system who have, and I believe deserve, our

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respect for their candor, their honesty, and their character. There are men in this country who believe, conscientiously believe, that the prosperity of America is tied up with and identical with the prosperity of certain great financial interests in America. If a man believes that, I must differ with him. . . . He may be just as honest a man as any of them, but he cannot think in the terms of America. He thinks in the terms of the influences with which he is connected, and a man who cannot think in the terms of America cannot represent any portion of America.

GOVERNOR DIX'S MESSAGE

In his first Message to the Legislature Governor Dix, of New York, places great emphasis upon the need for economy in the administration of the State. He gives detailed figures showing how the State's expenditures have rapidly increased during the past years, and shows that the State is facing a large deficit for the coming year. He shows that extravagance of expenditure has brought about excessive taxation, which has been "naturally followed by greatly increased annual expenditures." Excessive taxation," he says, "is next door to criminality, for it inevitably breeds extravagance, waste, and criminal corruption." The principal cause for this rapid increase in the cost of government he declares to be the added expenditures for boards and commissions. He points out "the absolute necessity of the most drastic retrenchment," and asserts that if this is not done a direct tax must be imposed. He advises the abolition of unnecessary boards and commissions, the removal of useless employees, and the careful scrutiny of every demand for appropriations. Specifically, he advises the abolition of the Advisory Board of Consulting Engineers in charge of the construction of the barge canal, of the Highway Commission, of the State Board of Parole, and of the Board of State Fair Managers; and the consolidation of the Forest, Fish, and Game Commission and the State Water Supply Commission. He recommends the adoption of a State-wide system of direct nominations "which shall insure to the people the right to choose members of political committees and nominate candidates for public office." He recommends the adoption of an election law which would permit the name of any candidate to appear in but one place upon the ballot. He favors enlargement of the scope of the law regulating employers' liability to workmen, and more stringent restrictions upon child labor. He declares in favor of the adoption of the proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution permitting the imposition of an income tax, and recommends the passage of a resolution calling upon Congress for the adoption of the parcels post, and of a resolution calling upon Congress to submit a Constitutional amendment providing for the popular election of United States Senators. In closing he says: "It is time for drastic reform and retrenchment. Every unnecessary avenue of expenditure should be closed; every unnecessary special body should be abolished and the work, wherever possible, done by the Constitutional officers of the State." Governor Dix's presentation of the financial condition of the State is both clear and businesslike. If he can secure economy without decreasing efficiency, he will perform a very great service. We dissent from his views on a Federal income tax for reasons stated many times in these columns, but we cordially approve of his recommendations as to the parcels post, the popular election of United States Senators, the direct primary, a reformed ballot, and a broad and human treatment of labor questions. The progressive spirit of the Message as a whole deserves commendation from Governor Dix's political opponents as well as his political supporters.

GOVERNOR BALDWIN'S INAUGURAL

At first thought there might seem a lack of logic between the recommendation of the new Governor of Connecticut that the Legislature should adjourn by the end of April because, as he says, in "the land of steady habits" there is comparatively little call for legislation, and, on the other hand, the fact that his address contains twelve thousand words and makes many suggestions, several of them novel. But on careful reading one feels that Governor Baldwin does not really expect many radical laws to be passed; the novel ideas are meant for public debate rather than instant action; some of the recommendations are

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perfunctory indorsements of the party platform, others are progressive in their leaning but not thorough. Among those which are novel, and certainly interesting, are: the proposal to print on the back of every ballot the oath taken when a man is made a voter—as a solemn adjuration to honest exercise of the suffrage; the proposal to regulate aviation; the recommendation that women should, as property-owners, vote in all municipal elections; and the effort to solve the problem of the present unequal representation in the Legislature, sometimes called in Connecticut the "rotten borough system," by having the Senators elected from the State at large, as was done in old days with the body of advisers which preceded the Senate. The last suggestion is important, but would be only a partial remedy, as the lower house would still be made up on the totally irrational basis of townships rather than districts of fairly equal population; even among the Senate districts, Governor Baldwin says, one has 45,000 population, another 21,700. Thorough Constitutional revision is needed, but is not likely to be had, because the country legislators will not act against their established supremacy. Neither, we believe, is there much chance that the Governor's plan will go through. Governor Baldwin, like Governor Dix, calls for economy, and would abolish, consolidate, or reduce salaries for many offices and commissions; also like Governor Dix he would have a State purchasing agent, but only for State charities and the like, not for all supplies. Like Governor Hughes, he disapproves ratification of the income tax proposal because he thinks the borrowing power of the State would be impaired if its bonds were taxed, as he believes they might be. The plank in the party platform for popular election of United States Senators is indorsed. The Governor mildly approves a plan for a new and better Public Utilities Commission, but would reduce the commissioners' salaries—not a good way to get able men. Far better raise the judges' salaries, which are now, Governor Baldwin complains, smaller than those of the commissioners. We are glad to record the fact that the Governor of Connecticut believes that there should be new legislation as to employers' liability, but sorry to add that his suggestions do not go to the root of the matter. He would throw on the operating cost of the business "not unreasonable" compensation for the injuries of employees, but only in the case of specially hazardous occupations, with careful definition of what is hazardous, and with care not to throw undue burdens on the factory interests. We believe that public opinion has already gone far beyond the industrial theories which demand such half-hearted recognition of the just principle that the business should bear the risk. It may be well—to take up another half-way industrial measure proposed—to increase the present limit of $5,000 damages for death to $10,000, but the right thing would be to let the jury decide what damages should be paid. If a race-horse were killed on a railway, $30,000 or more might possibly be obtained; why limit the value of a man's life and let a jury fix the horse's value? A few non-committal lines about direct primaries lay stress on the additional expense to candidates that might result, and ask careful consideration for the bill lately recommended by a commission. Needed changes in the corrupt practices act are clearly set forth. Governor Baldwin's inaugural is original, well written, and provocative of discussion, but it is clear from it that he is not a "Progressive" of the school of Woodrow Wilson, the Democratic Governor of New Jersey.

THE PANAMA LIBEL CASE

The United States Supreme Court has unanimously affirmed the decision of Judge Hough, of the United States Circuit Court of New York, that since the alleged libel against the President of the United States by the New York "World" was published in other parts of New York State as well as in West Point, which is a Federal Reservation, the State courts have primary jurisdiction, and that it was not the intent of the Federal statutes to extend the jurisdiction of the United States over reservations of the United States within a State in cases where the State has primary jurisdiction. In understanding this decision the reader must bear in mind the following self-evident propositions—self-evident, but curiously ignored

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by some of the daily papers: (1) This decision does not involve any construction of the United States Constitution. For aught that appears in this decision, Congress could provide that all offenses against Federal officers should be, or might be, prosecuted in the Federal courts. Whether Congress could do so or not, it has not done so. Prosecution before the Federal courts for criminal offenses committed in a reservation is not provided for in those cases in which the crime has been committed also outside the reservation and adequate means for the punishment of the crime are afforded by the State courts. (2) The Supreme Court does not decide whether the New York "World" is, or is not, guilty of publishing a criminal libel. That question was not before the Court. It simply decides that the question whether or not the "World" was guilty is to be decided by the State courts because the alleged libel was primarily published in the State. (3) The liberty of the press is not involved in the decision. The Court does not decide that the press has any liberty to publish such a preposterous and groundless story as the New York "World" published. It does not even decide that the publisher of such a story may not be prosecuted in any State in which his paper circulates. It simply decides that a Federal law which incorporated the criminal statutes of the several States into the Federal law and made them applicable to Federal reservations within such States was not intended to transfer the jurisdiction for the trial of offenses not committed primarily within the reservation from the State to the Federal courts. The question has public interest and importance only because of the importance of the persons concerned. It decides nothing but that the former Attorney-General made a mistake in choosing the Court before which he brought the criminal proceedings.

A BLOW AT PEONAGE

One of the most important decisions of the Supreme Court in recent years was rendered last week. The telegraphic despatches reporting it are very meager, and the full text of the decision has not yet reached us; but its general purport is plain. By it, peonage, as it has been practiced in Alabama, bolstered up by an Alabama law and sustained by the Alabama Supreme Court, is declared contrary to the Federal Constitution. The credit for this decision belongs largely to the public spirit and unremunerated public service of a number of patriotic men of Alabama. By patient work they have succeeded in bringing the matter through the circuitous paths of legal procedure to the highest Federal bench. The whole country should hold in honor these progressive and humane Southerners. Briefly stated, the case which called forth the opinion on the unconstitutionality of peonage is as follows: A negro, by name Alonzo Bailey, made a contract with the Riverside Company to work as a farm hand for a year at $12 a month, and received in advance pay the sum of fifteen dollars. After working for a little over a month he stopped work. Of course he did not refund the fifteen dollars. Under the Alabama law, refusal to work after such a contract is made without refunding the whole advance payment is *prima facie* evidence that the employee intended to defraud his employer. In order to escape conviction for fraud the employee has then to prove positively that he did not intend to act fraudulently. But the law prohibits him from testifying directly as to his own intentions. So there he is—convicted of fraud by virtue of stopping work. He is fined heavily, and in lieu of payment is put to work without remuneration. It does not matter what brought about his leaving his job—if he is poor and cannot pay a fine (and he is poor, for otherwise he would not be working under such a contract) he is thus made a peon. The case of Alonzo Bailey was once before presented to the Supreme Court, but was sent back to the lower courts because all the requisite formalities had not been observed. It arrived again at the Supreme Court last fall; and is now decided. It is clear that peonage has now to fear the power of the Federal Government. We shall postpone further comment on the decision until the full text of Justice Hughes's opinion and Justice Holmes's dissenting opinion reaches us. Meantime we simply record it as one of the great decisions of our times and

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one dealing with fundamental questions of human rights.

THE GUARANTY OF BANK DEPOSITS IS CONSTITUTIONAL

The States of Oklahoma, Kansas, and Nebraska have laws which establish a system by which banks are forced to contribute to a fund which is used to guarantee bank deposits. The Supreme Court of the United States last week, by a unanimous decision, holds that such laws are not contrary to the United States Constitution nor inconsistent with its principles. The Supreme Court, it should be pointed out, makes it very clear that it does not by this decision either approve or disapprove of the efficacy or economical advantage of bank deposit guaranty laws. Time and experience must prove whether this novel form of legislation will accomplish that which its inventors hope. It is not in the least the business of the Supreme Court to express an opinion on this point, nor is it a necessary conclusion from this decision that the State Legislatures have acted wisely. It is enough that the Supreme Court should find that a Legislature has acted in good faith and for the benefit of the people of the State at large, and that the law does not controvert any direction or prohibition to be found in the Constitution. This principle is entirely in agreement with the Supreme Court's decision in the Commodities case, upon which at the time The Outlook commented as follows: "We do not understand it to be the intention of the courts to determine whether legal enactments are expedient or desirable, but simply whether they accord with the principles of the Constitutional law." The Supreme Court considered several objections brought against the bank deposit guaranty laws; but Justice Holmes, who announced the opinion of the Court, dismissed the most formidable of these objections—namely, the statement that under such a law the State took private property of one bank for the private use of another bank without compensation—by saying that, while there might be some basis for this contention, yet there were far more powerful considerations to the contrary. It was in this connection that Justice Holmes used the following language, which seems to us of great significance and of far wider application than to this particular case:

> In the first place, it is established by a series of cases that an ulterior public advantage may justify a comparatively insignificant taking of private property for what, in its immediate purpose, is a private use. It would seem that there may be other cases besides the every-day one of taxation, in which the share of each party in the benefit of a scheme of mutual protection is sufficient compensation for the correlative burden that it is compelled to assume. At least, if we have a case within the reasonable exercise of the police power, as above explained, no more need be said.

In regard to the effectiveness and value of bank deposit guaranty laws, opinion seems to differ in the States in which such laws exist. The opponents of the guaranty of deposits declare that it is impossible to judge of a law until something like a panic shall occur. They assert also that such a law involves the compulsory support of the weak bank by the strong bank, and enables the reckless bank to take risks which it ought not to be allowed to take, guaranty or no guaranty, and thus unfairly to bid for the business of the conservative bank, with ensuing disastrous competition which involves financial danger. The West has been exceedingly prosperous of late; there have been very few failures of banks; the number of cases in which the guaranty fund has been applied to cover loss has been small. The country at large will watch the experiment with interest; and if the system withstands satisfactorily the shock of a real financial depression, it is safe to say that similar laws will be enacted first in immediate contiguous States to those now having such laws, and then through the country.

UNCLE SAM SAVES THE CHILDREN'S PENNIES

Last week, in one community in each State, a Government Postal Savings Bank was opened. In almost all places the response of depositors was immediate enough to strengthen the Government authorities in their expectation of gradually extending the plan until any one, anywhere, may intrust his surplus funds to the Government. In return, the Government guarantees their safety and pays two per cent

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a year on them. The communities chosen in each State were, so far as possible, those having many alien residents, and especially those foreigners who, distrustful of our own private savings banks, have sent their savings to the government postal savings banks in their respective home countries for deposit, even though only half as much interest is paid there as here. In the second place, the communities chosen were none of them financial centers. As examples, Rutherford, New Jersey, and Cohoes, New York, may be taken. Rutherford is a typical American town, spruce, neat, well set up, well-to-do; but the Rutherford Postal District comprises a fringe of communities populated by many foreigners—not the kind who have become accustomed to American ways, but those who are not only unaccustomed to our ways, and who send their scanty savings back home, but whose social conditions are none too good. At Cohoes the knitting and other mills have attracted in the postal district a foreign population of many thousands. The large international money orders from that district, varying from five to one thousand dollars, for deposit in foreign postal savings banks, would indicate that, as soon as the foreigners learn about a Government guaranteed savings bank in America, they will deposit their funds here. In order not to overburden the present post-offices, an additional clerk has been detailed in each district to take care of the postal savings bank business, where necessary, and as many more will be detailed as is desirable, so that ultimately the postal savings bank will become a distinct department of the post-office, its officers having nothing to do with the other activities of the office. The first few days' business has shown that the banks will appeal especially to children—for accounts may be opened by any person over ten years of age in his or her name. Newsboys in particular have availed themselves of the opportunity of depositing even so small a sum as ten cents or its multiples. They receive a card, and, for each ten cents, a yellow stamp to be affixed to the card. When the sum saved reaches a dollar, a certificate for that amount is issued; and when twenty dollars have been saved, the depositor may increase his rate of interest from two to two and a half per cent by accepting the Government's offer of a two and a half per cent bond of the twenty-dollar denomination. Think of a child as a Government bond holder! Thus there is a double inducement to children to save their pennies.

MR. PINCHOT AND THE CUNNINGHAM CLAIMS

Should a virtual monopoly of the accessible coal lands of Alaska now belonging to the people of the United States be granted to a group of thirty-three men? This is the question that is involved in the case of the Cunningham Coal Claims. What the answer to that question is to be now depends upon President Taft. An argument against the granting of this monopoly has been drafted in a brief submitted to the President on behalf of Mr. Gifford Pinchot, former Forester of the United States. "The case against the claimants is already conclusive," says the brief. "The claims should be canceled by the President forthwith." The claims of these men are those which Mr. Ballinger, now Secretary of the Interior, approved for patent, on behalf of which he afterwards drew up and presented a brief to the then Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Garfield, which still later Mr. Ballinger unofficially declared to be, in his opinion, illegal, and which figured largely in the Ballinger-Pinchot Investigation. The people of the United States own lands in Alaska containing enormously rich deposits of coal. A large part of this coal is so situated that it will be years before it will be practicable to mine it. A large part, however, is in a region which can be profitably developed. In this region a syndicate, known as the Morgan-Guggenheim Syndicate, has secured such holdings as to enable it to control, at least to a great degree, all transportation. When the value of these coal deposits was popularly recognized, a law was passed which limited every coal claim to 160 acres. This was to prevent the coal of Alaska from becoming monopolized as the coal of Pennsylvania, for instance, has been. There have been two ways of evading this law: one is for a man, or group of men, who wish to acquire a large tract of coal land to use the names of others in

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which claims can be recorded—that is, to secure "dummy entries;" the other is for a number of genuine claimants to locate their claims together and agree that they will act jointly in the development of their claims. Of course it is difficult to prove that an entry is a dummy entry, and it is also difficult to prove that a group of men who, for instance, to save expense engage the same mining engineer to test the value of their holdings, have made an agreement such as nullifies the law. Of the nearly one thousand claims located, only thirty-three have reached the stage of "entry," which is the compliance with certain formalities and the payment of ten dollars per acre. These thirty-three are, however, of special value, and comprise the Cunningham group. If it can be shown that the men making the entries have violated the law, their entries can be canceled; but if once the entries are passed to patent, the land becomes the property of the claimants and cannot be recovered. A law passed in 1908 allows an association of men to acquire a tract of 640 acres; but the total acreage of the Cunningham group is more than eight times as much as that. The Pinchot brief declares that these entries are fraudulent by reason of both kinds of violation of the law: that is, that not only have the claimants acted in accordance with an agreement, as was maintained by Mr. Brandeis before the Ballinger-Pinchot Committee, but that they have made use of "dummy" entrymen.

THE DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT

The Pinchot brief rehearses the facts that have been elicited concerning these valuable claims. Much of what the brief sets forth is to be found in the voluminous records of the Ballinger-Pinchot hearings, but is so intermingled with evidence on other points that its force is much greater as it appears arranged in an orderly fashion in this brief. There is documentary evidence to show that the claimants had agreed to combine. It has been said in reply that this agreement had been "abandoned;" but the brief cites fact after fact concerning the action of the claimants which it declares are inexplicable except on the ground that they had an understanding that all the claims would be used as a joint property. For example, that they all shared in buying certain land, though this land would be of no benefit to some of them except as all the claims were to be consolidated; that joint moneys were used to add to the value of only some of the claims; that the reports made by agents of the claimants were made on the group of claims as a whole. Most significant of all is the statement of the brief that the Government's case was inadequately presented at the hearings before the Land Office. Before patent is granted, the Land Office is accustomed to hear testimony for and against the claimants. In this case the Government's case was intrusted to a young lawyer who had never tried a case in court. The brief declares that he did not introduce important evidence that was available, and cites as one instance a letter from an employee of the Government, an agent of the Land Office. This agent had an affidavit of one of the claimants containing certain statements decidedly damaging to the claimants. He returned this affidavit to the agent of the claimants, urging that the claimant, Mr. Baker, eliminate certain specified words, and adding:

> You know, we know, and the Department knows that there will be a coalition of interests as soon as patent is granted to all in your group, and it asks nothing about such a matter, except that there be no understanding or agreement to such an end before patent. But when the applicant states in an affidavit that he hopes or expects to enter in combination or company with adjoining applicants, he not only casts a doubt on his own assertions of good faith, but also on that of those adjacent applicants, who comprise a group such as yours. I am afraid that if Mr. Baker insists on the affidavit as he has executed it, there will be a searching inquiry instituted by the Department which will at least involve an interminable delay.

This is the letter of a Government official supposed to be acting as a representative of the people! It is no thanks to him that a "searching inquiry" has been instituted, not by the Department, but by leaders of public opinion. The brief asserts that the Government attorney failed to use several lines of available evidence. In order to relieve the Secretary of the Interior and the President of responsibility for deciding this case, it has been proposed to authorize its transfer to a

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court of the District of Columbia. The Outlook has stated its belief that this is an administrative question and should not be avoided by the responsible executive officials. Even apart from that, however, this case should not be so transferred. The Executive Department, as the brief declares, would not be relieved of responsibility by sending this case to a court to be decided upon an imperfect record of evidence.

THE BALLINGER CASE ONCE MORE

Speaking of Secretary Ballinger, a reader has called The Outlook to account. This is not unprecedented. In one week we received a letter reproving us for defending Mr. Ballinger, another reproving us for criticising Mr. Ballinger, and a third for our cowardly procedure in sitting on the fence! This particular reader, however, who writes from Minneapolis, takes us to task for crawling through a loophole. This, as Artemus Ward remarked, is "2 mutch." We should really like to assure our readers that in this case at least we have not intentionally done any crawling. What called forth the Minneapolitan's complaint is an editorial paragraph in The Outlook reporting and commenting upon the report of the majority of the Ballinger-Pinchot Committee. After summarizing their conclusions in favor of Mr. Ballinger, we called attention to the fact that one conclusion of the Committee is in direct issue with Mr. Ballinger on one of the fundamental questions of Conservation—namely, the policy regarding coal lands. Mr. Ballinger favors the sale of the coal; the Committee recommends that the Government refuse to sell the coal, but rather grant leases to mine it at fair royalties. The fact that the Secretary of the Interior was out of sympathy not only with his chief, the President of the United States, but also with those members of the Administration party in Congress who had investigated his department, seemed to us an indication that Mr. Ballinger was not fitted for the office he holds in the Administration, and we said so. Now our friend from Minneapolis regards this as a shameful thing to say. He seems to think that this is our "conclusion and final verdict in the 'Ballinger Case,'" and declares, with evident indignation, "All the charges, insinuations, and suspicions that have been blazoned broadcast for a year and a half by the public press, daily, weekly, and monthly, have all simmered down to just a little criticism of this matter of policy to be decided by Congress." We do not regard it as a little matter of policy. It concerns a very vital matter. It bears an important relation to the whole problem of Conservation. It is, however, not the only or even a chief factor in The Outlook's conclusion with regard to the whole Ballinger controversy. Evidently our friend in Minneapolis overlooked a part of the paragraph; otherwise he could hardly have made his mistake. As he overlooked it, others may have done so. We therefore repeat it:

> The real cause of the controversy which led to the investigation was the belief that Mr. Ballinger was not, as head of the Department of the Interior, efficiently guarding the public interest, and that he was so far out of sympathy with the Conservation policies in which the American people believed and to which the Republican party had committed itself as to be unfitted to carry those policies into execution. On this point The Outlook reached its conclusion and stated it last June. We see no reason for changing the opinion then expressed.

Our belief—the belief that Mr. Ballinger's disagreement with the President and with his own party friends in Congress on the way of safeguarding the people's coal lands makes his position untenable—is not a substitute for the conclusion we expressed over six months ago—it is supplementary to it. Those who wish to know what that conclusion was can find it by turning to The Outlook for June 11, 1910, and reading the editorial entitled "The Ballinger Case: A Review." We reached that conclusion after a painstaking examination of the testimony given before the Committee—an examination that included not only the reading of the testimony (about five thousand printed pages) in addition to briefs and speeches of counsel on both sides, but also the attendance of a member of the staff of The Outlook at a number of the more important sessions of the Committee. The reading of the three reports of the Committee—namely, those of the majority, of the minority, and of Mr. Madison—has confirmed our previously expressed

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conclusion. In order, if possible, to avoid any further misunderstanding, we here reiterate the substance of those conclusions: We do not assert that Mr. Ballinger has acted with deliberate wrong intent; but his attitude toward the Reclamation Service, his action with regard to the withdrawal of the water power sites, his unfortunate relations with the Forest Service, his inability to avoid methods of administration that must inevitably be demoralizing to organization, his course of conduct in regard to the Cunningham claims, his inability to appreciate the standards to which the American public have come to hold their public servants, and his lack of frankness while under investigation, all lead to the inescapable conclusion that he should not continue to be Secretary of the Interior.

TWENTY MILLION DOLLARS FOR RECLAMATION

At its last session Congress authorized a bond issue of $20,000,000 for the prosecution of the work of reclaiming the arid lands in the West. Subsequently, in pursuance of a provision of the law, President Taft appointed a board of army engineers to look over existing and proposed reclamation projects and to advise him as to the expenditure of the $20,000,000 appropriated by Congress. This board of engineers has just made its report, and in a Message to Congress the President approves its recommendations. In its report the Board recommends the allotment of the proceeds of the loan to fourteen different projects in thirteen different States. Sums varying from $325,000 to $4,500,000 are thus allotted. The Board further recommends that the $20,000,000 should be expended within the next five years. The full report of this Board has not been made public, but the excerpts which have appeared indicate that the army engineers found no ground for adverse criticism of the Reclamation Service. They apparently made no recommendations differing essentially from the course pursued previously, and they do not appear to have pointed out anything which was not fully understood by those in charge of the work long before they began their examination of the projects. The principal suggestions which they have made have to do with standardizing the plans for the various projects, a matter which the Service itself has had in hand for several years, and with adjudicating water rights, which has also been one of the chief subjects under continual study. The Board expressed itself as "impressed with the ability of the employees occupying positions of responsibility," and as convinced that "the engineering structures are, as a whole, well designed and well built. Some of them, as the Pathfinder Dam, the Shoshone Dam, the Roosevelt Dam, and the Gunnison Tunnel, are monuments reflecting great credit on both designer and builder." This report, in so far as it has yet been made public, is a source of gratification to those who have long believed that the Reclamation Service has been carried on with unusual efficiency and fidelity and with a fine spirit of public service. It is a splendid tribute to the unremitting and unselfish work of the Director of the Reclamation Service, Mr. F. H. Newell. Incidentally it affords a convincing argument against the plan suggested six months ago of taking the work of reclamation out of the hands of the present Service and intrusting it to army engineers. There is no warrant for turning over, to a corps already overburdened and not especially trained to undertake it, a work which a board of army engineers finds to be so well done under its present management.

FORTIFYING THE PANAMA CANAL

The New York "Herald," which makes some pretensions to deal with international politics in a large way, prints the following extraordinary statement, in which the italics are ours, with regard to the proposed fortification of the Panama Canal:

> That the United States is *bound by treaty* not to erect land fortifications along the Panama Canal *cannot* be disputed.

Whatever may be the "Herald's" opinion with regard to the propriety of fortifying the Canal, its statement that there is no dispute regarding the treaty rights of the United States in the matter is absurd. To show how contrary to the facts the "Herald's" statement is, we refer to one significant discussion of the subject. Mr. Philippe

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Bunau-Varilla, who, with Mr. Secretary Hay, negotiated the Panama treaty under which the Canal is now being built—a treaty which bears the name of its two negotiators and will ever be known in the history of the Panama Canal as the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty—has been having a long correspondence with the "Journal des Débats," of Paris, on the fortification question. The "Journal des Débats," which, in its review of international politics, is one of the ablest of French papers, takes direct issue with Mr. Bunau-Varilla on the question of the treaty rights, although both agree that the European Powers regard the fortification with regret. Mr. Bunau-Varilla states that in negotiating the Treaty he had no idea that it provided for fortifications, and contends that the Treaty does not permit permanent military defenses built and maintained by the United States. The "Journal des Débats," although it regrets the probable fortification of the United States on the ground that it will make the United States a naval power of too great magnitude for Europe to view with equanimity, and agrees with the London "Times" in the expression of what it admits is a hopeless desire that the whole question might be referred to an international tribunal, courteously tells Mr. Bunau-Varilla that he is mistaken. It expresses its opinion in the following significant language, which we translate and transcribe from its issue of September 15, 1910: "We wish very much that we could share Mr. Bunau-Varilla's opinion upon the interpretation of the Treaty in the drawing up of which he participated. Unfortunately, the text of Articles III and XXIII is so exact that the United States is justified in holding another interpretation. We have already given the French translation of these articles. To-day we present below the original text, in order to enable our readers to weigh carefully the value of the terms employed:

"ARTICLE III.—The Republic of Panama grants to the United States all the rights, power, and authority within the zone mentioned and described in Article II of this agreement and within the limits of all auxiliary lands and waters mentioned and described in said Article II which the United States would possess and exercise if it were the sovereign of the territory within which said lands and waters are located to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of such sovereign rights, power, or authority.

"ARTICLE XXIII.—If it should become necessary *at any time* to employ armed forces for the safety or protection of the Canal, or of the ships that make use of the same, or the railways and auxiliary works, the United States shall have the rights, at all times and *in its discretion*, to use its police and its land and naval forces, or to establish fortifications, for these purposes."

The "Journal des Débats" goes on to point out that Article XXIII leaves it to the discretion of the United States to determine "when and in what measure" armed forces shall be employed for the protection of the Canal; and it adds that other means than an appeal to the Treaty must be employed if the European Powers wish to protest against fortification. There is not the slightest doubt, the "Journal des Débats" says, that while Mr. Bunau-Varilla appended his signature to the Treaty in the belief that military measures could be taken only on specific occasions when the Canal was threatened, the Government of the United States, in drawing up the Treaty, did so with the distinct understanding that military measures could be taken *at any time in their discretion*. It explains the difference between the point of view of Mr. Bunau-Varilla and the United States Government by saying that "these accidents frequently happen in diplomatic discussions." France began the Panama Canal, and therefore French statesmen have a keener sentimental interest in its future than any other foreigners. That the "Journal des Débats" should give so much thought and space to upholding its view of the legal interpretation of the Treaty clearly indicates that the ablest foreign opinion will uphold the right of the United States, under the Treaty, to fortify the Canal.

ANOTHER VICTORY FOR WORKINGWOMEN

Our readers will remember that the National Consumers' League, aided in a masterly way by the legal advice of Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, of Boston, was influential in the establishment of the now famous Oregon law creating a ten-hour day for workingwomen. The opponents of the law carried it to the United

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States Supreme Court, where it was sustained. That tribunal rejected the fiction, so far as it affects the workingwoman, that the laborer should be free to make a contract for any number of hours of work or for any conditions of labor. It declared that the States under their police powers have a right to regulate the hours of labor of workingwomen in the interests of public health and welfare. This decision was of the greatest value in supporting the efforts of workingwomen and their friends to raise the labor standards of the women of the country. The Oregon case was followed by a similar case in Illinois by which a ten-hour day for workingwomen of that State has been established by law under the exercise of the police powers of the State. These two steps were followed in the State of Michigan, where a ten-hour law for workingwomen was enacted in 1909 as one of the harvest of laws reaped after the favorable decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Oregon ten-hour case. The Michigan law has just been declared constitutional by the Supreme Court of that State. In some respects the Michigan law is more advanced than any legislation for workingwomen that the courts have so far held to be constitutional. It prohibits more than fifty-four hours' work in any one week and more than ten hours' work in any one day for women—not merely women working in factories and laundries, but also those employed in any store or in any clothing, dressmaking, millinery, or other mercantile establishment. The one serious defect of the law is that it specifically exempts from its operation all women "engaged in preserving perishable goods in fruit and vegetable canning establishments." The conditions prevailing in the canneries of Michigan and other States are so bad in the "rush season" that they form a class of industrial establishments which need, instead of special exemption, special regulation. The constitutionality of the Michigan law was attacked by the International Lock and Seal Company, a corporation which manufactures seals used by railway companies and shippers of freight for locking the doors of freight cars. The Company based its protest on two grounds—first, that the law interfered with "freedom of contract;" and, second, that it was "class legislation." On both these grounds the Michigan Supreme Court has decided against the Company. While we are heartily glad that the International Lock and Seal Company was defeated, we are in hearty sympathy with what its counsel said regarding the exemption of women employed in canneries. In making this exemption the legislators, he asserted, "were not looking to the health of the women, but rather to the preservation of fruits and vegetables. It is purely the spirit of commercialism, without any thought of the health of the women or the number of hours that they shall be employed; in other words, the provision means simply this, that, in order to protect the commercial interest of that class of citizens who are engaged in preserving perishable goods and who invested their money in canning establishments, they may work women any number of hours in order that their profits may be increased and their business not interfered with." We hope that the International Lock and Seal Company, with the same ardor with which it attacked the law, will now use all its influence, in common with other good citizens of the State, to persuade the Legislature to repeal this unjust and unhygienic exemption.

THE RECALCITRANT MONOPOLY

The Interborough Company, which operates the New York Subway, does not behave in a way that is calculated to make the city anxious for an extension of its monopoly. The people of New York, we believe, do not want a transit monopoly except under strict regulation. Such regulation is now provided by the Public Service Commission; but it is exercised against the bitter opposition of the managers of various transit lines, and especially of the Interborough. Early last year, for instance, the Commission issued an order to the Interborough directing it to run enough cars at all times to provide as many seats during each half-hour period as there were passengers, up, if necessary, to the maximum number of cars physically possible to be run. The Commission did not attempt to require the road actually to give every passenger

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a seat. It merely directed that if, for instance, a thousand passengers used the Subway between ten and ten-thirty on a given day, cars containing at least a thousand seats should be run to carry them. That was hardly an unreasonable requirement—that a road which was earning eighteen per cent on its investment should go as far as that toward giving each traveler the seat to which he is entitled. But the Interborough protested, and, in the belief of the Commission, failed to live up to the requirements of the order. A short time ago the Commission issued a new order, reducing to fifteen minutes the period within which seats and passengers must correspond. Last week the Interborough refused to obey this order and demanded a rehearing upon it. Among the grounds on which the Company refuses to obey are these: The order "deprives the Company of the right of ownership and management and protection of its property;" that it "illegally substitutes the judgment of the Commissioners for the judgment of this Company's directors;" that the law under which the Commission acts is unconstitutional. These objections of the Interborough strike at the very source of the regulation which the Public Service Commissions Law aimed to provide. The Interborough evidently wishes to be judge of its own cause; to determine for itself what service it will render the public; to decide for itself whether it will allow passengers to be seated during those hours when the rush of traffic does not physically forbid such accommodation, or will compel them to stand at its own sweet will. The city is now in the midst of a discussion over the question whether the needed subways should be built as competitors of the Interborough or whether they should be adopted as extensions of the Interborough's present monopoly. In this discussion the Interborough is offering the strongest possible argument against its own case. There is broad room for argument over the two principles of competition and regulated monopoly in transit affairs. We do not see how there can be any argument between competition and *unregulated* monopoly. By making it as hard as possible for the people to use the restraint of regulation it is doing all it can to prove to the people that their only recourse is to competition through independent construction.

A GERMAN HERO FUND

Mr. Carnegie's endowment of peace not only takes the form of the gift of a great sum of money, the income of which is to be used to carry out such plans as the trustees think will advance the interests of peace, but he is also fostering the sense of fraternity by international gifts and by the endowment of that kind of heroism which gives inspiration and nobility to daily life. He has now founded four hero funds. Seven years ago he created such a fund in this country by the gift of the sum of five million dollars, the income of which should be used each year for the support of widows and orphans of men who have sacrificed their lives in the endeavor to save others, and for the support of men who have been incapacitated for the same reason. Canada and Newfoundland were included in the range of this gift. Three years ago he gave one million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the Dunfermline Hero Fund, to be used for the same purposes in Great Britain. Two years ago he established a similar Hero Fund in France, amounting to one million dollars. He has now created a "Carnegie Foundation for Life-Savers" in Germany by the donation of one million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, the annual income from which is to be used for the benefit of those who have been injured in the execution of heroic acts, or whose survivors need help. The fund is placed in the hands of the Emperor, who has appointed a commission of twelve by which it will be administered, the president of the commission being the chief of the Emperor's Civil Cabinet. Among the other members are the American Ambassador and representatives of the mining, railway, maritime, and industrial interests of Germany, and of its medical profession. In his letter to the Emperor William accompanying the gift Mr. Carnegie expressed his desire to recognize the unbroken peace which the Emperor has preserved during his reign, the value to the United States of the thirty million Germans and their descendants who have become citizens of the Republic, and his wish to emphasize the fact that

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this is a heroic age, and that in a period of industrialism there are heroes of peace.

AMERICAN HISTORY AT OXFORD

The establishment of a lectureship in the University of Oxford on the History and Institutions of the United States is another step forward in the direction of international understanding, and therefore of international peace; for there is no source of war so prolific as misunderstandings based on ignorance. No movement of the day is more promising of substantial results than the interchange of professorships, of which a number have already been established; so that France, Germany, Denmark, and other countries are getting information about the real life of Americans by men who understand their subject. Heretofore they have largely gained their knowledge through sensational newspaper accounts which deal with crimes, eccentricities, and abnormal social developments. Such things exist in all countries; but no other country suffers so much from a complete system of reporting them as does the United States. The men who are to fill the Oxford lectureship are to be selected by a board which is to include the Presidents of Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, and Mr. Bryce, the British Ambassador at Washington. There is every assurance, therefore, that the lecturers will be chosen for their grasp of the subject, their sound sense, and their ability to use the English language. It is interesting in this connection to recall the fact that some of the most authoritative recent writing on the civilization of different countries has come from the hands of men who are foreigners in those countries. There is no better analysis of the French spirit and social organization than Mr. Brownell's "French Traits," nor is there a more authoritative book on the civilization and institutions of this country than Mr. Bryce's "The American Commonwealth," nor has any contemporaneous study of English political organization and institutions a greater authority than Dr. Lowell's "The Government of England." The establishment of such chairs will eventually make unnecessary such a sign as that which appeared some years ago in a Venice shop window: "English spoken; American understood"!

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME

The American Academy in Rome, recently described in these columns, has just announced its intended transfer from the Villa Mirafiore to the Villa Aurelia. The transfer is more interesting than is usually the case with the removals of institutions from one quarter of a city to another. The Villa Mirafiore—a singularly charming house and grounds—cost the Academy one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, but, as there is quite a rivalry among other foreign academies to obtain it, our own Academy ought, with the increase in land values, to obtain a handsome profit. The reason for the removal is found in the fact that in the will of Mrs. Clara Jessup Heyland, who died a year ago, it was found that she had left her magnificent Villa Aurelia to the American Academy as its permanent home. The villa is so called from the adjoining Aurelian walls of Rome, and also the Aurelian Road leading thence from the Eternal City to the Mediterranean. The villa is a magnificent one. The house and surrounding land crown the Janiculum Hill, and command a superb view of Rome and the surrounding country. The villa is also important from a historical point of view, as it was the headquarters of Garibaldi and the Army of Defense of the Roman Republic in 1848–9. The added accentuation of American art in Rome coincides with the improved prospects of American representation in the International Exposition of Art and History in 1911. Mr. Harrison S. Morris, of Philadelphia, our Commissioner-General to the Exposition, informs us that he is having no difficulty in securing the most representative works from American artists for the Exposition, that all are eager to be included, and to do for American art in Italy even more than was done by Americans in Paris at the International Exposition there in 1900. The large art institutions, museums, and galleries are also lending their influential assistance. Indeed, without them little could be achieved, as toward them flows the tide, by purchase or gift, of the best American examples.

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NATIONALISM AND PROGRESS

In this issue of The Outlook Mr. Roosevelt begins, under the above general title, a series of articles in which he discusses the Spirit of Nationalism that has taken a new vigor and form in the political and social life of the American people since the close of the war with Spain. He will endeavor, as he did in his speeches [1] throughout the West last summer, to define this new National spirit and to show how it may be applied to some of the specific and concrete problems that confront us.

In his brilliant life of the elder Pitt, who later became Lord Chatham, Lord Rosebery shows how Europe and England in "the shameless and naked cynicism of the eighteenth century" had lost the sense of nationalism, and how the political and military contests of the time had become merely "contests of prey." Under Pitt the nationalism of England was reborn and became in very truth a "new nationalism"—that is to say, a nationalism whose function it was to promote the common rights, not merely of the court and aristocracy, but of all the English people.

In the United States at the conclusion of the Civil War began a period when government, through the "shameless cynicism" of the money-maker, became very largely an agency for the promotion of wealth. Special privileges overshadowed common rights. It promises well for this country that there is to-day a new ideal of government springing up in the minds of the citizens—a new spirit of Nationalism. In experience as an officer of government and in high ideals as a private citizen, no one is better qualified than Mr. Roosevelt to discuss the various phases of this new spirit in our National life. We are especially glad, therefore, to have the opportunity to present his articles on this subject to the readers of The Outlook.—THE EDITORS.

PROGRESSIVE NATIONALISM; OR WHAT?

In the series of articles of which this is the first, I wish, at the outset, to ask the readers of The Outlook two questions.

The first question is: Are you satisfied that there is no need of bettering our present social, political, and industrial system? If, after sober thought, you feel that there is no need for betterment, if you do not feel the need of raising the condition of the men who toil and of altering the status of the huge corporations as regards the public, if you are satisfied with things as they are and feel no desire to work for a greater justice in our social system—you will not believe in the spirit and principles of Progressive Nationalism.

In the second place, if you are not satisfied with things as they are and believe there should be improvement, but think the methods and proposals of the Progressives are wrong, if you do not believe in the principles and spirit of a broad, far-reaching, and Progressive Nationalism, which shall imply the full and efficient development of the powers of both the Federal and the State Governments, what alternative to this movement do you suggest? In considering a principle, a policy, an ideal, it is always well, before condemning it, to consider what is the alternative.

In the discussion of these questions I propose, first, to indicate what are the principles and spirit of the Progressive movement in American politics which in previous speeches and articles I have sometimes alluded to as the "New Nationalism," a movement which in its essence is to render governmental action thoroughly efficient in Nation, State, and municipality, which is furthermore to make this governmental action absolutely responsive to the need and will of the people, and which is finally to inspire the country with the knowledge that even the wisest governmental action will avail nothing unless the average citizen is himself a man of high and fine character, who combines rugged strength with the desire to do justice to his fellow-men.

In successive articles I shall endeavor to show how those principles and that spirit would work out in application to certain specific National and international problems.

Those of us who believe in Progressive Nationalism are sometimes dismissed with the statement that we are "radicals." So

[1] The principal speeches have since been printed in book form, under the title of "The New Nationalism."

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we are; we are radicals in such matters as eliminating special privilege and securing genuine popular rule, the genuine rule of the democracy. But we are not overmuch concerned with matters of mere terminology. We are not in the least afraid of the word "conservative," and, wherever there is any reason for caution, we are not only content but desirous to make progress slowly and in a cautious, conservative manner. Moreover, ultra-radicalism may be as hostile to real progress now as it was in Lincoln's day. Lincoln was a radical compared to Buchanan and Fillmore; he was a conservative compared to John Brown and Wendell Phillips; and he was right in both positions. The men and forces whom and which he had to overcome were those behind Buchanan and Fillmore; to overcome them was vital to the Nation; and they would never have been overcome under the leadership of men like Brown and Phillips. Lincoln was to the full as conscientious as the extremists who regarded him as an opportunist and a compromiser; and he was far wiser and saner, and therefore infinitely better able to accomplish practical results on a National scale.

The great movement of our day, the Progressive National movement against special privilege and in favor of an honest and efficient political and industrial democracy, is as emphatically a wise and moral movement as the movement of half a century ago in which Lincoln was the great and commanding figure. But, thank Heaven, the present movement is free from taint of sectionalism, and all good citizens, North and South, East and West, can stand shoulder to shoulder in advocating the basic principles on which the movement rests.

Of course the Progressive movement has some opponents whom we can have no expectation of converting. The dishonest man of swollen riches whose wealth has been made in ways which he desires to conceal from the law, and the politician who does not really believe in the right of the people to rule and who prefers to trust to corruption and class favoritism rather than to honesty and fair dealing in politics, are both naturally against us. Moreover, many men who, according to their lights, are sincere and honest, are yet so dominated by real or fancied self-interest as likewise to be against us. The rich man who has made his riches, not by lawbreaking, but by the profits of special privileges which the law should abolish, and who denies the right of Government to regulate in the public interest the business use of corporate wealth; the man who puts property rights above human rights and denies the right of Government to interfere with his business by guaranteeing to his laborers that they shall work under safe and healthy conditions and be compensated for loss of life or limb due to the dangers of their trade—these also, and the many like them, we must expect to exert their power against the Progressive movement.

There is thus one group composed of those who understand Progressive Nationalism and heartily approve it because they believe it tends toward the abolition of special privilege and of political corruption and toward the development of a genuine democracy; and another group composed of those who cordially fear and fight it because they wish to preserve special privilege and evade control. There is yet another group who are not in the movement because they *misunderstand* it. One of the most frequently advanced allegations about the movement, made for the purpose of discrediting it in the minds of good men who do not know the facts, is that it stands for "over-centralization" and for the destruction of States' rights. Nothing could be further from the truth. The advocates of Progressive Nationalism will, I believe, agree with what I said on this question at Denver and Osawatomie last summer: "The State must be made efficient for the work which concerns only the people of the State, and the Nation for that which concerns all the people. There must remain no neutral ground to serve as a refuge for lawbreakers, and especially for lawbreakers of great wealth who can hire the vulpine legal cunning which will teach them how to avoid both jurisdictions. It is a misfortune when the National Legislature fails to do its duty in providing a National remedy, so that the only National activity is the purely negative activity of the judiciary in forbidding the State to exercise power in the prem-

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ises. I do not ask for over-centralization; but I do ask that we work in a spirit of broad and far-reaching Nationalism when we work for what concerns the people as a whole. We are all Americans. Our common interests are as broad as the continent. The National Government belongs to the whole American people, and, where the whole American people are interested, that interest can be guarded effectively only by the National Government."

The advocates of a Progressive Nationalism emphatically plead for efficient State action as well as for efficient National action. All they demand is that both State and National action be in the interest of, and not against the interest of, the people. The most efficient possible development of State power is not only not incompatible with but is likely to accompany the most efficient possible development of National power. Wisconsin offers the best case in point. Under the leadership of Senator La Follette, Wisconsin, during the last decade, has advanced at least as far as, and probably farther than, any other State in securing both genuine popular rule and the wise use of the collective power of the people to do what cannot be done by merely individual effort—the University of Wisconsin, by the way, playing a very important part in the movement. Yet this has in no way interfered with Wisconsin's hearty support of the movement to make the National power in its sphere also more efficient.

The representatives and beneficiaries of the special interests desire, not unnaturally, to escape all Governmental control. What they prefer is that popular unrest should find its vent in mere debate, in unlimited discussion of an academic kind as to the sanctity of contract, full liberty of contract, and other kindred subjects. They feel the need of construing the Constitution with rigid narrowness when property rights are involved, and of carrying the "division of power" theory to such an extreme as to deprive every Governmental agency of all real power and responsibility. They prefer the *status quo*, for they know that the mass of conflicting judicial decision has created just what they wish, a neutral ground where State and Nation each merely exercises the power of maintaining that the other has none. I wish to contrast with this position of the special interests the spirit and purpose of Progressive Nationalism. Its advocates desire to secure to both State and Nation, each within its own sphere, power to give the people complete control over the various forms of corporate activity, and power to permit the people to safeguard the vital interests of all citizens, of whatever class. Again I ask the critics of Progressive Nationalism just what it is to which they object in the position of its adherents. If they do not approve of it, do they wish to leave things as they are? If not, what alternative do they propose?

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES

"American Defeat in the Pacific" is perhaps rather a strong phrase to apply to the present commercial relations existing between China and the United States. Nevertheless, in employing that phrase as the title of his interesting article which appears on another page, Mr. Frederick McCormick is justified by the following reasoning: The United States now has, through its control of the Philippines, some vitally important interests at stake in the Orient; the welfare of those interests depends in a large degree on the right development of China and the relations of Japan to that development; and, finally, the social and political development of China is, and will be, influenced profoundly by its commercial and industrial development.

If the United States wishes to have in this development a share which shall be helpful both to China and to itself, it must cultivate with the Chinese people commercial relations of the best kind. Mr. McCormick is right, therefore, in contending that a diminution of our commerce with China means a diminution of influence in settling political and social problems of profound importance to the whole civilized world.

Before the United States can have a large and profitable trade with China four conditions must be firmly established at home:

First, there must be a real desire on

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the part of American manufacturers and merchants for that trade and a determination to get it by all honorable means. Ship subsidies, investments in Chinese railways, the Americanization of Chinese finance, the intervention of the American Government in behalf of the Open Door policy—all these will count for nothing until American merchants supply the goods the Chinese want, in the packages they desire, and on terms convenient to their commercial methods. In other words, a sympathetic understanding of the Chinese and their needs is the first essential.

Second, the promotion of the Open Door policy formulated by Secretary Hay. The "Open Door" means simply that all nations shall be permitted to trade in China on equal terms, with no discriminations or favoritism shown to any nation on the part of the Chinese Government. It does not mean that China shall not impose taxes and tariffs, but that the taxes and tariffs shall apply to all nations alike. Agricultural implements may be taxed, but not merely American agricultural implements; the importation of unsanitary meat products may be prohibited, but not merely American unsanitary meat products. The American people should support the American Government in every honorable attempt to aid China in maintaining the Open Door. For China wants to maintain it; it is to the interest of every European nation, except perhaps Russia, to maintain it. Russia and Japan are so strongly intrenched in Manchuria that they may jointly strive to nullify the Open Door policy for their own selfish advantage. If so, they should be persuaded that they are not merely doing an injustice to China, but are seriously offending the three strongest commercial and martial nations of the Occident—England, Germany, and the United States. It is true that the Open Door policy is not regarded by the people of the United States as being in the same category with the Monroe Doctrine; the latter, on the ground that its integrity is essential to our National existence, we should cheerfully defend by force against the whole of Europe if necessary; the former appeals to our sense of justice, and to obtain justice we ought to exhaust every peaceful means known to frank diplomacy before taking a single step in the direction of force. Nevertheless, the Open Door is necessary to the development of civilization in China, and the United States should never, and in our judgment will never, relax a proper insistence upon its observance by Japan and Russia.

Third, a clear understanding that through our occupation of the Philippines and our building of the Panama Canal we have obligations to perform with regard to the development of China and the whole Orient in its relations to China. One of these obligations is to aid China in her struggle for Western education. Selected Chinese students should not only be welcomed but should be induced to come to American schools and universities. The admirable remission of the Boxer indemnity during President Roosevelt's Administration and the application of some of the money of this indemnity to the education of Chinese in the United States was a long step in the right direction.

Fourth, President Taft should be loyally supported in his efforts to aid China in the reforms she has undertaken to make in her financial system. The best-informed economists agree that the greatest obstacle in the way of China's commercial development is the chaos prevailing in Chinese finance. The United States Government is taking the greatest interest in co-operating with the leading Powers to help China frame a sound scheme of National finance. It is believed that an important feature of China's financial plan is the appointment of a financial adviser, preferably an American. If America and China can persuade the European Powers that such an American adviser will be a man of distinguished ability and of disinterested determination to employ his office for the promotion of financial order, for the creation of a Chinese Department of the Treasury administered on modern lines by the Chinese themselves and for the placing of all foreign interests on an equality, more will have been done toward the preservation to China of peace, integrity, safety, and sound commercial development than has perhaps been done by any other one act of foreign political and commercial intercourse with China.

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A WORD FOR THE USUAL

The title of Mr. Colby's new volume of essays, "Constrained Attitudes,"[1] suggests some kind of compulsion; as if the themes or the positions had been imposed on the writer. If either surmise is correct, Mr. Colby moves with enviable ease within the limitations, and speaks with refreshing frankness of habits of his contemporaries and of not a few of their half-gods and less interesting idolatries. The critic who refreshes himself with these keen thrusts at imposing platitudes, inherited credulities, and cast-iron self-deceptions will hesitate to speak of these essays as generously as he would like, lest Mr. Colby find in his commendation some of that easy assumption of authority, that subconscious conceit of opinion, which the essayist finds such easy game. Let it suffice, therefore, to say that he who enjoys a book of keen perception, sharp criticism, and alert intelligence cannot afford to leave "Constrained Attitudes" unread. It is a lively oasis in a desert of monotonous collected essays by serious and heavy-handed persons.

The practice of deliberate and profitable humbug has been a fine art since the beginning of history, and has furnished the comic journals with inexhaustible variety of themes and occasions. Mr. Colby is interested in the psychology of the unconscious practitioner of the gentle art of deceiving himself as well as his neighbors. This, for instance, is what he has to say about those groups of people who organize admiration for a writer into a trust which, from its very inception, aims directly at monopoly: "No one should be blamed for being suspicious of the literary cult. And it is as short-lived as it is deceitful; for it has been observed of its members, as of the blue-bottle fly, that they buzz the loudest just before they drop. Excesses of this sort have of late years been invariably followed by periods of severe repression, of silence almost proportionate to the degree of garrulity when the talking fit was on. The hush that settled on 'Trilby' and 'Robert Elsmere' endures to this day. The reader of 'The Man with the Hoe,' if there be one, is as the owl in the desert; and upon the lips of the Omarian the spider builds its web. Men still find pleasure in the writings of Stevenson, but where are the Stevensonians? Where are the Smithites, Brownists, and Robinsonians of yesterday? Let a subject once fall to the cult, let the lavish tongues of small expounders have their way, and the waters soon close over it."

Mr. Colby finds easy game in those persons of literal mind who are always trying to "do sums" in literature and reduce everything to pounds, shillings, and pence; who are persuaded that the poetry of the day can be standardized, so to speak, and the relative value of the poets accurately determined by weights or measures; who ask bewildered editors who are "the five greatest female novelists, which are their five greatest novels, and what are the names of their five greatest characters." It is reported of a distinguished college president that he received a letter from an anxious inquirer who wrote: "I hear that you are the greatest thinker in America; will you please send me your greatest thought?"—a very embarrassing question to put to a modest man! It is the National proclivity to regulate commerce in ideas and art which keeps alive interest in the "best sellers."

The commonplace comes in for gentle castigation at the hands of this bantering essayist, whose clear-cut standards and pungent phrases do not disguise the force and veracity of his criticism. It is a theme which has yielded an easy and early harvest to shrewd, and sometimes to dull, cultivators since the beginning of satire and irony. The commonplace amounts to a portentous sum in life, and it seems at times as if large sections of society were stricken with a monotonous dullness. The young commuter who lives on a small income in a small house in a suburban town and wheels a perambulator before and after church on a pleasant Sunday is an easy prey for the satirist who is not afraid to repeat an old tale glibly. If one groans in spirit with those whose lives are hedged about with the usual and feels like breaking all the windows, he will find pleasure in Mr. Colby's shrewd comments on "Hedda Gabler;" but if he needs a good strong tonic, let him read Miss Sinclair's

[1] Constrained Attitudes. By Frank M. Colby. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

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latest story, "The Creators," [1] a report of the unusual made with great ability and in minute detail. There are commonplace people in this novel, but they are introduced solely for the purpose of putting solid ground under the uncommonplace. The central group, "the Creators," are all people of genius. They live, move, and have their being in a sphere of their own, with mutual understanding, a common language, and a kind of joint consciousness of a special function. The heroine, if the story has a heroine, is a woman with what might be called a "genius attachment"—a rare and inexplicable creative impulse which seizes her at times like the evil spirit in the Gospels and rends her. Miss Sinclair has at last freed herself of obsession as to the sex question, and has made an analysis of temperament of extraordinary insight and analytical skill; but her woman of genius is not convincing; the creative power does not seem to be a part of her; it is not the flowing together of all the secret forces of personality; it is something which comes to her from without. The story is too long, the analysis too heavily underscored, the talk too voluminous; the book is charged with ability, but it is not thoroughly dramatized.

Nevertheless, "The Creators" is a capital antidote for impatience with the commonplace; it would be difficult to put more unhappiness between covers! All the Creators share a tormenting self-consciousness; they are driven by the wind of destiny; they are generous and loyal, but they never lay hold on content or repose. Happiness is not the end of life, but there ought to be some normal ease, some natural adaptation to environment, in every group of people; in this group everything is at sixes and sevens. No sooner do a little wholesome peace and a few months of normal habit wait on these Creators than a blast of genius makes their wives hateful to them, their husbands repulsive, and their babies objects of loathing.

One turns with relief to the young commuter propelling the perambulator along the suburban street. His life is not exciting, but he has no desire to strangle his child or elope with his neighbor's wife; he is not tossed on a sea of surging passion which will carry him to a divorce court or to the penitentiary; his wife does not follow Madame Bovary in order to vary the dull round of daily duties. The interests of the young married commuter may not be broad or stimulating, but he keeps his honor and betrays his friend neither in his home nor in his purse. He is an easy mark for the satirist, and it requires no great genius to make sport of the perambulator; but in any sane view of life it is at least an open question whether he does not get more out of life and put more into it than the Superman whose chief characteristic is a selfishness so brutal and colossal that it is a kind of elephantiasis of individuality, a monstrous deformity.

In the reaction against the normal and usual people forget that the abnormal and unusual develop a monotony of their own, and that the escape from the perambulator to the lunatic asylum is not an escape from dull routine to freedom, but an exchange of one form of commonplaceness for another. To the layman lunacy seems rich in variety of delusion; but the alienists tell us that the illusions of the insane are very few and are easily classified. Out of every thousand a definite percentage of the insane will be Mary, Queen of Scots; another definite percentage will own everything within sight—a widespread form of delusion; another percentage will enjoy the distinction of being George Washington. There is evidently no escape from monotony through the asylum or the penitentiary.

Nor is it possible to conceal the fact that even the great apostles of the revolt against the monotony of the daily round move in regular circles and soon become as monotonous as those who wheel the perambulator. One speedily becomes familiar with Ibsen's interesting ladies and can calculate their fates with mathematical accuracy. Their orbits are eccentric; but they are orbits, nevertheless. The vivacious and much-advertising Mr. Shaw cannot conceal the rhythm of his irony or satire, and we predict the exact point at which his characters will discard their masks and show old, familiar faces. Mr. Chesterton goes his cheerful and paradoxical round,

[1] The Creators. By May Sinclair. The Century Company, New York.

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and we gladly go with him; but it is a round, just the same. Even among those who try so desperately to escape from the monotonous order of life that they plunge into tragedy, the element of the usual still persists; and broken marriage vows, "free unions," following one's star without reference to the order of the heavens, being loyal to impulse, and all the other short-cuts to freedom—which is not a fixed state but a condition won by self-restraint and discipline—end monotonously in misery, disgrace, and bitter disillusion. Since a certain monotony is evidently part of the normal order of things and is apparently a necessary safeguard for sanity, is not the dullness of health as profitable as the dullness of disease? Is it not better to be a little dull with Colonel Newcome than to be brilliant with one of the brilliant degenerates who play their despicable parts in some contemporary novels and dramas? to keep one's honor in quietness than to break faith with the sanctities of life by a brief and hectic vivacity?

ORIENTAL IMMIGRATION [1]

A great popular conviction may be false, but it must always be taken seriously in a democracy. There is a great popular conviction on the Pacific coast that Oriental immigration is perilous to American institutions. This is not merely a class prejudice of laborers against competing laborers. In 1879 the Legislature of California ordered a test vote to be taken for and against Chinese immigration. The result was that out of 162,000 votes there were but 638 for such immigration. The ballot was secret; the conclusion is certain: the people of the State were then practically a unit against such immigration. There is no reason to think that any change in the public sentiment of the Pacific coast has taken place since that time. There is very good reason to believe that it now extends to Japanese as well as to Chinese immigration. This is not a passing passion; it is not a class prejudice; it is a permanent conviction.

Various reasons are given for this conviction, but they are not the real, certainly not the fundamental, reasons. It is said that the Orientals are barbarians: the civilization of the Chinese is, if less progressive, far older than our own, and the modern civilization of the Japanese has been demonstrated by a successful war with what was before regarded as one of the first military powers of Europe. That the Orientals are vicious: their vices are different, but not worse, than those of their Western neighbors. That they are ignorant: the percentage of illiterates in Japanese immigrants is twenty-two, in southern Italian immigrants fifty-four, in Portuguese immigrants sixty-eight. That the slums in San Francisco are intolerable: whatever may be true of the Chinese, the Japanese are largely farm laborers and are becoming farm owners and fruit cultivators. That their habits are filthy: Robert Louis Stevenson bears a different testimony: "The emigrants declared that the Chinese were dirty. I cannot say they were clean, for that was impossible upon the journey; but in their efforts after cleanliness they put the rest of us to shame." That the coolies are practically slaves who are shipped here *en masse* and whose labor is sold by contractors: if this was ever true, it is true no longer, and never was even alleged of the Japanese. That they buy up town and country property, and wherever they settle the white man moves out: which may be a reason for forbidding aliens to own land, but might only be a reason for eradicating white prejudice. That their standards of living are low and they accept wages on which a white man cannot support his family; in support of which figures are given showing that the average wage paid Orientals in Hawaii is about half that paid to whites, and the hours of labor are longer: it is true, to quote Professor Commons, that "the future of American democracy is the future of the American wage-earner. To have an enlightened and patriotic citizenship we must protect the wages and the standard of living of those who constitute the bulk of the citizens;" but it is also true that experience indicates that a limited

[1] We know of no better single volume for the student of this subject than Volume XXXIV, No. 2, of the "Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science" (September, 1909) on the "Chinese and Japanese in America," in which, in a series of papers by different contributors, the whole subject is presented in both its National and international relations, and by those who favor and those who oppose such immigration. For our statement of facts and for many of the arguments presented in this editorial we are indebted to this volume.

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Oriental immigration will not permanently depress wages, that the Oriental soon learns to demand the current rate and to get it.

The real reason for the opposition to Oriental immigration is its effect on the future of America. Zangwill says that God is throwing all European races into the melting-pot and forming out of them the America of the future. The opponents of Oriental immigration believe that the Oriental in America will always remain an alien element, unassimilated and unassimilable. The objection is well put by a philosophic student who is at least without local prejudice, Herbert Spencer:

> I have, for the reasons indicated, entirely approved of the regulations which have been established in America for restricting Chinese immigration, and had I the power I would restrict them to the smallest possible amount; my reason for this decision being that one of two things must happen. If the Chinese are allowed to settle extensively in America, they must either, if they remain unmixed, form a subjective race standing in the position, if not of slaves, yet of a class approaching slaves; or, if they mix, they must form a bad hybrid. In either case, supposing the immigration to be large, immense social mischief must arise, and eventually social disorganization. The same thing would happen if there should be any considerable mixture of a European race with the Japanese.

This peril seems to the Atlantic coast dweller remote, but this is because, to him, the problem is remote. The peril is serious, or would be if steps had not already been taken to guard against it. It is the negro problem over again, made more perilous because back of the Oriental immigration are two great nations, one in the process of formation, the other already one of the great world powers. In the judgment of The Outlook, Mr. C. H. Rowell, of the Fresno "Republican," is absolutely right: "The Pacific coast is the frontier of the white man's world, the culmination of the westward immigration which is the white man's whole history. It will remain the frontier so long as we guard it as such; no longer. Unless it is maintained there, there is no other line at which it can be maintained without more effort than American government and American civilization are able to sustain." We do not agree with him that "there is no right way to solve a race problem except to stop it before it begins." But if this is not the only way, it is the simplest, the easiest, and the best way. In the case of the European races education solves the problem. The educated German, Scandinavian, or Italian, if not the educated Slav, becomes in the second or third generation an American. But the educated Oriental remains an Oriental. Lafcadio Hearn had certainly no anti-Japanese prejudice; and it is Lafcadio Hearn who says: "The Japanese child is as close to you as the European child—perhaps cleaner and sweeter, because infinitely more natural and refined. Cultivate his mind, and the more it is cultivated, the farther you push him from you. . . . As the Oriental thinks naturally to the left where we think to the right, the more you cultivate him, the more he will think in the opposite direction from you." Rudyard Kipling's lines point in the same direction; and few Orientals know the Orient better than does Rudyard Kipling:

> "Oh, East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet,
> Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God's great Judgment Seat."

It is better that they should not meet. It is not that the Chinese and the Japanese are inferior races; it is that they are different; and it is better that different men, though frankly recognizing one another as equals in the major qualities of civilization, should have different homes. It is an old adage that no house is large enough for two families. No nation is large enough for two races. The East for the Oriental, the West for the Occidental, with no attempt to keep house together, but free intermingling in international trade, is the true solution of the Oriental problem. This is the solution which the democratic instinct on the Pacific coast has hit upon. And the democratic instinct is right.

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THE SPECTATOR

It was a sunny, dusty day, but there was a good breeze, and the road was full of Indians in wagons and on horseback, all headed for the Sun Dance grounds, three miles away to the southwest. They were a gay crowd, for nearly all of them were decked with bright-colored handkerchiefs and ribbons. "Ask Charlie Lee," said the Spectator's frontier friend, "what the Sun Dance is for, and he will say, 'Ah, just for good time!' and no other Indian interpreter will tell you anything more. But it means important things to all these Indians, or they wouldn't come from far and near and build this circle of trees and this camp and have all this complicated ceremonial. It is a medicine dance—it 'makes medicine.' And it has sun worship in it too. They hold it in these July days, just when the sun is in his strength, and when you see the deadly earnest of the dancing, you will realize that it means business. Look—there's the camp, and that's one of the old medicine poles."

A semicircle of tents lay on the flat meadow in the morning sun. In front of them was another semicircle of green arbors, made of sapling willows, which looked cool as well as highly picturesque. Here and there rose a gaunt, crotched pole thirty or forty feet high, with a formless bunch of brush in the crotch. "There are eagle feathers in the brush, and it is tied there securely," explained the Spectator's companion. "Each medicine pole has been used as the center of a Sun Dance, and then left there as a memorial. Each year a new one is cut from the mountains. Last night the Indian men went up into the hills with songs and chants and chose a medicine pole, and other poles and trees to make an inclosure about it. To-day they will bring these up from where they have been guarded all night beside the stream, and then they will build the circle ready for the dance. Any one can see the dance by paying a quarter admission fee. It didn't use to be so, but now the Indians are willing to sell admission. But, though they may let you in, they will never tell you what any part of the ceremonial means. You have to guess it out yourself, and unless you are a mind-reader you'll probably guess all wrong. The Indian isn't easy to puzzle out. Funny thing—these Utes, as a rule, have a language the trader can learn and use. But when they talk among themselves, at the time of this dance, for instance, the trader can stand among them and not understand a word of what they are saying. They seem to have a different speech, of which no white interpreter ever gets the meaning. Friendly? Oh, yes, they're friendly enough. It isn't that. They fly the American flag, as you see, on their wickiups."

Sure enough, from some of the tents and arbors the flag was flying. Women sat at the doors finishing beaded moccasins and getting feather bonnets into fine trim. Soon the men, who had been lying asleep inside, came out fully dressed for the opening event of the dance—the sham battle, which was to take place a mile away, down by the nearest watercourse. They were a really gorgeous sight, about two hundred of them, with many chiefs among them. Their faces were painted, they wore brilliant feathers and beads, and their horses were likewise lavishly painted and decorated with fluttering ribbons bound into their manes. Three squaws rode among them, one in a wonderful beaded cape of blue beads sewn in patterns with white ones, and another, an older woman, with a cape made entirely of elks' teeth, which would have excited the cupidity of the whole united order of Elks. In a long, marching, wavering line of color—red, green, blue, and yellow—under the July sun, the procession undulated through the tufted sage-grass to the little river, and joined in tame sham battle about a small wickiup erected for the purpose to guard the poles that had been cut and brought thus far the day before.

Sunset was the hour for the dance. By that time the new pole and its inclosure were finished and ready. The medicine pole formed the center, and from its fork radiated thirteen long poles—the tallest tree stems that could be cut and carried. This wheel of poles, like the rustic roof of a pergola, rested on upright poles set

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firmly into the ground, and the rim of the wheel was formed by a wall of young trees —cottonwood, willow, and cedar—planted upright in the earth with their leaves on, making an inclosure of good size. As the sun set, a long procession of Indians, naked to the waist, barefoot, painted white and yellow and bronze, with loincloths and skirts of white, or of beads, or Navajo blankets, with their hair braided and hanging on their shoulders with feathers stuck in it, and tootling on queer little whistles made of eagle quills, marched solemnly around the inclosure, and then in at the gate. Then a canvas was stretched across the entrance, and a ticket-man placed there to admit the white audience—quite a few of them. While the Spectator lingered outside, first one and then a dozen of the dancers came out again, wrapped in blankets or in white sheets that covered them from head to foot. With their backs to the sunset they advanced toward an old medicine pole not far off, and fell on their knees, remaining there for some time. Then they marched back into the inclosure, and the Spectator followed to see what happened next.

All around one-half of the circular interior were seats for the audience. The other half was lined with tiny green willow booths, one for each dancer, where he could rest after his exertions. A single Indian was standing by the pole in the center, addressing the others—or the sun —in a chanting speech. An old squaw was aiding him by singing away at the top of her voice, and then the drums came in and completed the noise. After that another chant, much more solemn, was sung to the accompaniment of the little eagle-quill whistles, which sounded like innumerable piping crickets. The Indian who stood by the pole now struck the earth with a fan of feathers, and then touched his bare breast and different parts of his body. "He's making medicine," whispered the Spectator's companion.

The music rose, swayed, and changed. Sometimes it was martial, sometimes mournful, sometimes gay. The dancers had only one step—jumping with both feet together, first forward, then backward, then forward again, each time a little nearer to the pole. When the pole was reached, the backward hop was made the longest, and the dancer thus gradually retired. It was a step that even a trained white dancer could hardly keep up five minutes, but these Indians never stopped. One after another joined in. The squaws, who sat close by the musicians, each holding a willow branch, took part only by chanting. Sometimes applause broke out, but no dancer appeared to heed it, for the eyes of each were kept firmly fixed on the pole. "Once started, they can neither eat nor drink," the Spectator was told, "and they usually keep at it for three days and nights. When they get too exhausted to stand, they can retire for a while and lie down in their booths. But it is a point of honor to dance every minute they can. Some say they hope to draw strength from the sun for the whole tribe, and to cure the sick. Others say it is to keep the sun from going away, and that it used to be held on the longest day of the year. See that fellow holding the wolfskin out in front of him and touching the pole with it, and then touching the boy? That's 'medicine,' and the boy certainly needs it, for he's far gone in consumption. That image tied up on the pole, just below the crotch, is the Sun God, some people think. But only the Indians know—and they keep their own counsel."

Truly, it might have been Central Africa. The Indians, not content with the heat of the July night, had started a fire, which cast strange shadows upon orchestra, singing women, and dancers. The feathers tied to the fingers of the latter, "to keep the devils away," and the long rags of cloth attached to the medicine pole for the same purpose, fluttered in the night wind. The shrill piping whistles gave an unearthly sound. The painted figures, dripping with sweat, kept up their mad, monotonous jump. But in the middle of it all one dancer jigged solemnly, with the black cord around his neck holding a large gold cross that shone in the mingled light of the fire and the moon. He wore the symbol ignorantly, but to the Spectator it had a meaning.

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AMERICAN DEFEAT IN THE PACIFIC[1]

BY FREDERICK McCORMICK

THE Government at Washington announces that American exports to China have declined from a maximum of $58,600,000 in 1905 to $15,500,000, which is the estimated total value of exports during 1910.

The ledger thus shows that American trade in the Pacific has been routed. This is the striking comment of cold commercial history upon America's vaunted expansion in the Pacific, which, after the acquisition of the Philippines and with the prospect of the Panama Canal, it was prophesied would become, with its circle of nine hundred million people, "an American lake." During President Taft's candidacy for the Presidency, which was partly promoted on the basis of his statesmanship in the Orient, the decline in the importance of European affairs to America and the appreciation of the Pacific, as prophesied by William H. Seward in 1852, were confirmed. It was pointed out that Alaska was purchased from a desire that America should become the foremost of Pacific powers, and that Hawaii was acquired through the necessity of excluding foreign control from a commanding position in the mid-Pacific. In 1908, when this was said, it had been for ten years the active policy of America to maintain for the benefit of future generations all outlets in the Pacific for American manufactures that could be commanded. It was recognized that any obstruction to American expansion and development in the Pacific would limit the American Nation in its influence and destiny. In the light of these facts, the condition of American trade in the Pacific suggests a commercial and political defeat.

A complete change has come over trade conditions in China. Previous to 1903 foreign goods were laid down on the seaboard docks in China, and, it might be said, left for the Chinese to carry away if they chose. At any rate, they were transferred by the foreign resident agent to the direction of Chinese managers, and the foreigner retired to his shooting-grounds, his golf course, or his club. Now the foreign trader has been forced by competition to go into the highways and byways himself.

In 1909 the writer was on the Taiyuanfu road, in the province of Shansi, in the company of several foreign travelers, when a correspondent of a London newspaper, who had been fifteen years in eastern Asia, boasted that he had traveled over more of China than perhaps any other foreigner. A British "drummer" from Manchester, "traveling in pills," as the British say, took exception to this boast, and said that he would back the American inspector for British-American cigarettes, who had been only a few years in China, as the best traveled of the two. He had himself just come from the heart of Manchuria and was *en route* to Szechuan. A glance at the map will enable the reader to appreciate, with reference to the movements of these commercial men, the great change that has come over foreign trade methods in China. To-day over China's highways plod the consular official, compiling trade reports; the civilian trade inspector, as well as the foreign trader himself; and even the foreign itinerant vender hawking patent medicines, etc. In Manchuria foreign travelers are surprised to find Japanese hucksters. Even unadvanced Russia has come into trade conflict with China in Mongolia. It is an active question with England and Russia as to how to deal with the Japanese match trade in Tibet, while under the shadow of the Long White Mountain, on the Korean frontier, Osaka knives are contending with Solingen blades for the favor of the Yalu lumbermen.

In this new state of competition American trade has not discovered its true position. America, which had the flower of the Russo-Japanese War trade in 1905—in fact, an abnormal year—was the only country that did not then prepare for the post-bellum prosperity in the Far East foreseen by other nations, especially Japan, and prophesied by Count Okuma. American trade must admit that Japan and Germany have reaped the profit of

[1] See an editorial elsewhere in this issue.—THE EDITORS.

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this prosperity, Great Britain has held her own, and America has fallen behind.

The story of the decline of American exports to China from the year 1905 is graphically pictured in the successive dropping in figures: first, roughly, fifty-eight millions to thirty millions, to twenty-three millions, then to twenty-one millions, to nineteen millions, and now to fifteen millions, little more than a fourth of the maximum. Some idea of the fray is gained from the recent despatches of the American consular officials in China. A specimen is as follows:

Shanghai: In two years American cottons have decreased over 60 per cent; British increased 50 per cent; Japanese from 30 per cent in some lines, to fifty-seven and one-half times original sales. The American flour trade is negligible; Shanghai mills have captured the trade in all the regions between Shanghai and Hongkong.

Newchwang (Manchuria): American cotton goods, previously found everywhere in Manchuria, have been replaced by Indian and Japanese.

Antung (Manchuria): American flour imports in 1908 were $305,127, in 1909 $73. The trade has been taken by Shanghai, Japanese, and Russian flour.

The consuls, on the other hand, report American flour making a good stand in the zone of Hongkong and southward. During the first six months of 1910 American kerosene conquered Sumatra oil in southern Manchuria. American oil is making a hard fight, showing an advance in quantity over last year of 29 per cent, but a decline in price of 12 per cent, a phenomenon due to the rate war now in progress between American oil interests and the oil producers of Russia, the Dutch Indies, and Japan. But in the best light of interpretation the Government's reports from China must be bitter reading for the captains of American industry and the friends of trade expansion in the Pacific.

THE DECLINE

The reasons for the decline of American trade with China are: first, that in all the more important lines, such as cottons, flour, and steel, sales and distributions are in the hands of foreigners and are left to shift for themselves; and, second, American trade receives no assistance from the American Nation.

The Government's agents constantly emphasize the decline in American goods handled by "middlemen." The bulk of American trade which is thus handled may be called promiscuous. Although in volume the most important, it was, and is, at the mercy of all assailants. While the American Government has not yet taken measures adequate to protect America's trade in the Pacific, economic and political measures of other nations have dealt it the severe blow now realized through the Government's reports. America's maritime competitors first wisely subsidized their ships and then the European capitalistic powers secured large loans in China by which large volumes of trade were controlled. This movement, led by Great Britain and France and imitated by Germany, rapidly developed at the end of 1908. The fever for financing Chinese development at this time reached an absurd pitch. Its excesses, shown by the following incidents, illuminate the trade war in China. All the great war-ship builders and the constructors of military armament were expensively represented in Peking, ready to finance and build navies and armament for the Chinese Empire. The writer recently encountered one of these representatives, a veteran European naval constructor, in a street in New York City, dodging vehicles at a late hour at night. It was during the visit to America of Prince Tsai-Hsun, head of the Chinese Naval Department, whom he, along with others, was following. He said that competition for battle-ships and guns in Peking had become as acute as the problem of crossing a street in New York, and that in following the Prince he had escaped the meanest level which trade warfare had yet reached there. There was a regular traffic in stolen plans and estimates carried on by Chinese who had come into possession of them and were using them for blackmailing purposes. Torpedo-boat designs and training-ship drawings were being offered for sale by Chinese servants to their foreign masters, and a charge of blackmail had been filed in London courts against a member of the British Municipal Council at Shanghai

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for complicity in an alleged attempt to blackmail English ship-builders to the extent of $2,000 demanded by Chinese for the restoration of a written proposal to finance and build a Chinese navy. A Jew had turned up in Peking with a Chinese official whose services in securing battleship orders he offered to sell for fifteen hundred pounds!

But successful financing of Chinese development is largely confined to railways. Germany, however, made a large investment in general commerce, in which her efforts were more strenuous, perhaps, than those of any other Power. She minutely and efficiently organized the entire commercial field of China by extending her official system, and her traders made what is now admitted to be a successful conquest of the market through extensive credits, although through trade congestion at Tientsin and other places the Germans are reported to have lost about twelve million dollars. This has been such a serious burden to German enterprise in China that an effort was made to get the Chinese Government to take the responsibility for this debt, but without success. The struggle for the Far Eastern market shown by these exploits has doubtless been all that printed reports have represented it to be.

One of the recurring statements in the American official reports accompanying details of the decline in the American trade is as follows: "At the same time Japanese goods show large increases, British stationary, etc." Of all those countries whose commerce with China is outstripping our own, the commerce of Japan is the most interesting, since it is most elaborately supported by subsidies, loans, and official encouragement. The exact place of Japan in the commercial and industrial life of eastern Asia is not yet to be accurately known, but it is well for American industry to remember that Japan's development has exceeded the expectations of the Japanese Government; specifically speaking, of the "War Cabinet," which contained such men as Marquis Ito, Count Inouye, Count Katsura, and others. The opponents of this Cabinet at the close of the Russo-Japanese War professed to believe in a great industrial and commercial expansion. The results of this expansion have astonished the prophets. The American Government reports that Japan, with Manchurian coal, is successfully competing with the Chinese mines, and that Japanese flour-mills in Manchuria, financed by Government money loaned at four per cent, are meeting all competition. This touches the American flour trade, the losses in which are not compensated by the additional trade in American milling machinery extensively used in Manchuria. By the development of the Hokkaido and the Yalu River timber zones Japan also diminishes American timber export from the Pacific Coast. In 1907 the Japanese built certain kinds of rolling stock for the South Manchurian Railway of better finish and material at less cost than did American builders. Although Americans are great steel producers, Japan has even entered the war-ship competition. She built Prince Tsai-Hsun's naval yacht.

A great deal has been said in exaggeration of Japan's commercial importance, but her progress has some striking features. America has long had to accept terms laid down by Japan for shipping in the Pacific, as is shown by the long and painful record of losses on American Pacific liners. Japan built up a Bombay service that caused the British steamship lines to charge her with creating a monopoly of trade between India and the Far East. This was on account of the purchase of raw cotton and yarns in India by the Japanese cotton-spinners because of high prices of cotton in America, and the shipping of all cotton for Japan in Japanese steamers. But while India in her case lost only the carrying of the cotton, America, already deprived of the carrying trade, was also deprived of her cotton trade.

It is chiefly in cotton and mineral oils that American trade with China has declined. The falling off in cotton is attributed by the American Government to the fact that cotton production has recently been stimulated in China and that large quantities of cotton yarn were secured from India owing to the advances in the prices of American raw cotton. The latter reason is important because it relates to the rise of the Japanese cotton industries and Japanese invasion of the commerce and trade

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of all nations in eastern Asia. Japan nationalized all important industries after the Russo-Japanese War by giving them official aid and direction. She extended ship subsidies, invested Imperial funds in industries, extended the State monopolies of salt, camphor, tobacco, and the railways, and carried the German system of Imperial aid to trade further than has Germany. October 14, 1908, the Emperor of Japan began stimulation of Japanese commerce and trade by an edict based on the wish "to share fully in the benefits of the general amelioration and improvement" in the world, and pointing out that the development of the national resources was necessary in order to keep pace with the constant progress of the world and to participate in the blessings of its civilization. The Japanese Throne in this manner met the problem of European and American competition and expansion in influence in eastern Asia—the most vital of Japan's problems, owing to her aspirations to a predominating influence in the Pacific. This rescript was characterized by Japanese critics as unsurpassed for simplicity, dignity, and weighty import by any document of similar historic importance, and made a profound impression on the Japanese conscience. It embraced, as a matter of fact, the whole national aspiration for expansion and prosperity.

The working out of this Imperial wish has been represented in its strongest colors by the former American Consul at Yokohama, Henry B. Miller. In dissecting the commercial anatomy of Japan he stated that every important industry of Japan was aided and developed largely by the Government. By the control of national finances, by the railways, which are state monopolies, and steamship lines under subsidies, combined with the manipulation of tariffs and rebates, the whole population of fifty millions of people of Japan practically could be concentrated by the Government behind any one industry or activity. Some of the interesting details given at that time were that the Japanese Imperial household owned the largest percentage of the capital stock of the greatest steamship companies, so that the Emperor and the Imperial family were in a way directors of the financial and industrial affairs of the country. The Government, on its part, owns control of the Bank of Japan and the Yokohama Specie Bank, by which the whole financial system is controlled. By setting aside a certain amount of money and investing it in leading enterprises practical encouragement is given to every important project; the silk and tea industries being thus encouraged, and practical aid given to the marketing of the products of Japanese industry. To extend commerce and trade the Japanese Government loans money to manufacturers at four per cent interest. Japan, therefore, with these formidable tools of commercial conquest, may be regarded as having made a formidable onslaught upon American trade in China in the lines of cottons, timber, flour, and kerosene, and as having practically dominated the carrying trade.

The time has not yet come, however, to warrant a fear by an awakened American commerce of Japanese destructive competition. It is not Japanese competition that has routed American trade in China. The cost of production in Japan has been steadily increasing, together with the cost of coal, labor, and commodities. Taxation advances and the taste for luxuries appears to be growing. Japan's economic level, now about that of southern Europe, is rising gradually to meet that of Great Britain and America, and soon the trade of Japan with the countries of the Pacific will be governed by the same stable laws of commerce that prevail in the Atlantic.

Japan will always be a formidable competitor of American trade in China, yet it will be seen by the facts in the American Government's reports that it is not Japan that has slaughtered American trade there. In the two items where the decline is noted by the American Government—namely, cotton and oil—India, Russia, and the Dutch Settlements have profited by nearly the whole of America's loss. In steel and machinery Great Britain, Germany, France, and Belgium have taken the trade. It is mainly in the control of industrial development in China by European capital that America has been defeated in the Chinese market since the Russo-Japanese War. Many reasons have been given for the decline of American exports to China by both American and foreign students; but the American Gov-

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ernment has not been amiss in basing its unprecedented action of 1909 and 1910 for the preservation of the Eastern market for American trade upon the menace existing in the monopolizing of trade through foreign loans to China. It is the orders for steel and railway equipment that have augmented the export trade figures more than any other one thing. The equipping by American mills and shops of the Mukden-Antung military railway during the war was followed in 1907 by American equipment for the reorganized South Manchurian Railway. Here American steel exports to China practically stopped, although railway development in China has led all other development, and might have been promoted and exploited by America and the maximum trade record of 1905 surpassed. Russia stopped her steel and machinery orders, and both Russia and Japan are making their own locomotives and carriages or buying them in Europe. The railway market elsewhere in China has escaped American traders.

It may not be generally known that it is customary, in making loans to China, for the lenders to benefit by the expenditure of the money. In this way for three years China's orders for steel and railway machinery, mining machinery, arsenal equipments, woolen, cotton, and silk spinning and weaving machinery, leather-making and minting machinery, and also equipment for steel plants and iron works, have been placed in Europe. America has secured only a few orders for electrical supplies and for insignificant goods like fine printing materials, etc., given more in compliment and because the materials could not be obtained elsewhere than for any other reason. Those who have benefited by Chinese industrial development and by America's losses are the capitalistic nations of Europe. Recognizing this, the American Government, combining its influence with that of American financiers, for two years has been engaged in meeting those nations on the terms fixed by them, and an acute analysis of trade in the Pacific is being carried on in Washington.

In the world's greatest ocean, surrounded by the densest, most peaceable and industrial population, America, then, has, with the most industrious and largest homogeneous population and empire of the world, a trade of $15,500,000 per annum. These figures show that American trade with China has not kept pace with the increase of China's purchasing power and imports, and that in the general disaster to American trade America has principally suffered in those lines in which the American merchant is not on the ground to meet his opponents. From these facts it is evident that it is a fallacy to suppose that American goods will themselves find their way to the markets of China, as has been so often contended in Congress, and even among American financiers and traders.

CHINA'S ECONOMY

It has often been remarked how acute is the economy of China. Perhaps this is best illustrated to an American by the romance of the American kerosene-can, whose fragments, converted into lamps, pans, buckets, cups, and innumerable other utensils, are found, one may say, all over Asia. There is no story of commerce in eastern Asia that eclipses this unless it be the drama of the cartridge-boxes and other war missiles in Manchuria, not one of which, when found, has not served some commercial or utilitarian purpose. Even the bullets were mined from the hillsides by a people who convert every available substance to their peculiar uses. What a lesson to the American trader, against whom is lodged the complaint over and over, never by any one more than his own people, of wanting to sell to the Chinese, not what the Chinese want, but what the American trader wants them to want—the incongruous utensils of his own provincial economy! And still American industry claims that if it is possible for Americans to trade in China, American products will find their own market, and American trade, which will take care of itself, does not need any assistance.

Here is one way in which it is left to take care of itself: Some years ago a progressive Chinese agriculturist on the head-waters of the Amur River was so ill-advised as to invest about twenty-five thousand dollars in American farm machinery, most of which came from Spring-

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field, Ohio, and was forwarded through the Philippines to northern Manchuria. The American forwarding house in the Philippines sent an American mechanic to install the machinery. The mechanic abused his trust, victimized the Chinese agriculturist, and, on account of his immorality and infidelity, came into conflict with the American authorities. Needless to say, the Chinese agriculturist was abandoned with his machinery, which thus became practically lost to him. One of the many lessons in this is that Chinese morals, commercial and otherwise, are probably a good deal higher on the Amur than are American morals in Manila. What will such practice avail against competition? America cannot expect longer to monopolize the farm-implement trade, which is being invaded by both Germany and Japan.

The prospect of actual American commercial defeat in the Pacific has been sufficiently real since the beginning of 1909 to inspire the American Government, for the first time, to exert its powers to arrest commercial rout there and turn it into advance. Perhaps the most important thing disclosed in the Government's reports, and evident to observers in China, is the fact that competition can be met and trade held and extended by the American trader on the field. The American oil trade has been extended in spite of Russian competition from the Black Sea, Dutch competition from the Indies, and Japanese competition. Just before the Russo-Japanese War the American sewing-machine trade began to be organized, and has grown. In 1907 the American tobacco trade was pushed into Korea and Manchuria, where it successfully met the opposition of the Japanese tobacco monopoly, a form of competition of the highest resistance. It was opposed in some cases with force, American tobacco advertisements being mutilated and destroyed in Dalny. American young men from North Carolina were, in 1908, to be found throughout Manchuria and the eighteen provinces, and might be met with in the remotest interior market towns and along China's ancient highways, posting advertisements, collecting trade information, and establishing distributing agencies. The most extensively organized of all foreign commercial enterprises in China is the British-American Tobacco Company, under American direction. The Standard Oil Company since the Russo-Japanese War has increased its distributing stations under its own name and management, so that no treaty port or trade mart of consequence is without its oil tanks. American harvesting machinery has crept up the Amur to Blagovestchensk, China's northernmost frontier, while on the south American flour and kerosene travel through Indo-China to Yunnan. There is no point reached by water or rail where American goods are not distributed in the Chinese Empire. American trade was among the first to participate in making Hankow, on the Yangtse River, a mart of direct export and import, and America now receives iron ore direct from that point.

Along with the American Government's announcement of a decline of nearly seventy-five per cent in the last five years in merchandise sold to China is proof that, in the lines of growth, success is due to the presence of the American trader on the ground to meet native conditions and the conditions of foreign competition. Fortunately, a few men have been found upholding American trade to the last in the Pacific where American enterprise has repeatedly failed through lack of support of united American industry and Government protection. The promoters of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, and, later, men like James J. Hill and Edward H. Harriman, and others, have been left unsupported in great enterprises in the Pacific for the benefit of American industry. The American Government, however, under the present Administration, obviously does not intend that the markets of China shall be closed to American industry, and has promoted the investment of American money there as one of the surest means of securing the same profitable returns of trade that are secured by European nations by this process. Since 1909 America has signed with China loan agreements aggregating nearly $90,000,000. It may not be possible for nations like our own to stimulate industrial and trade expansion through patriotic channels as do the Japanese, but there is no doubt that our Government has learned a lesson from Japanese and Eu-

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ropean enterprise in the matter of trade in China. In fact, in demanding its commercial rights no Power has gone further than did America at the time President Taft, in 1909, telegraphed direct to the Prince Regent of China with regard to American participation in the Hankow loan. President Taft, in supporting claims for ship subsidies and in his statesmanship in the Orient, has been in advance of the Nation, which even now reluctantly supports the Government's Far Eastern activity representing an effort to overtake the expansion and development of eastern Asia, in the appreciation of which Japanese and Europeans have outwitted us. American policy in eastern Asia inaugurated during the past two years to recover and extend trade and influence deserves as patriotic support from American industry and enterprise as the support which the Japanese people gave their national affairs in response to the Imperial rescript in October, 1908.

THE STORY OF DEFEAT

The decline of American trade in China from the time foreign trade began to recover after the Boxer war is shown in the following table:

1901	$18,200,000
1902	22,700,000
1903	15,000,000
1904	27,900,000
1905	58,600,000
1906	29,900,000
1907	23,100,000
1908	21,700,000
1909	19,600,000
1910	15,500,000

BUSINESS KNOWLEDGE

BY HERBERT G. STOCKWELL

This is the first of a series of articles dealing with business methods and the ethics of practical affairs. Other topics will be: Business Energy; Business Sentiment; Business Economy; and Business Reliability.—THE EDITORS.

A WEALTHY hat manufacturer who within the short period of twenty years has risen from the bench to a commanding position in his line of business, when asked to advise young men how to get on in business, said: "If I should select the rule most faithfully observed by me, it would be, '*Always keep your information account open.*'"

This somewhat whimsical remark is most expressive of the type of mind usually found at the head of a great business. Is it not curious that the men of large affairs are usually most eager for information? Small men are perfectly satisfied with what they know about their business, or, if not completely satisfied, allow themselves to become so immersed in the flood of routine daily details that their capacity for mental application to any subject not immediately pressing upon them is extremely limited.

When we read or hear about a man whose business visibly grows year by year, or one who is called to more and more important positions, we are apt to regard his success as being the result of some fortunate influence, or perhaps a lucky chance. Sometimes a feeling of envy takes possession of our hearts as we see our acquaintance rise in the business world. Why should he have been selected to receive the favors of fortune and we neglected, to remain on the lower plane? Why is it that we have never had an opportunity to change our office or employment for a better one? Without doubt there are some undersized examples of good fortune occupying positions of responsibility who have been pushed to the top through the assistance of family connections. Such men are able to hold purely nominal positions indefinitely; but let us look about us and see if we can point to a single example of a large enterprise—public, quasi-public, or private—which has been managed for any considerable time by a brainless product of fortunate circumstances.

The word "brains" is used in business

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to indicate that mental ability which enables the possessor to grasp, analyze, and act upon facts before him. While the tendency to brains may be inherited by a man from his ancestors, mediately or immediately, the *actual* brains, in the sense in which the term is used in business, cannot be derived from any source other than attentive reading, instruction, and observation of facts and men.

It would be interesting, if it were possible, to gather together a hundred of the presidents of the great corporations in our country in one huge room and ask them to tell us how they acquired the ability to command the positions to which they have been exalted. Would not our stenographic notes of this mighty meeting form a complete university course in business instruction? By a hundred different routes these mighty powers have reached the council of business kings. While no two chapters in our thus completely formed business library would contain repetitions, excepting such as would be useful for emphasis, we could not fail to observe running all the way through each chapter and each book continuous evidence of an eager search for knowledge on the part of those whose struggles are thus recorded. The useful information or business knowledge acquired by each of these masters has not been scrambled or gathered in any "happy-go-lucky" or "hit-or-miss" way. We would be impressed with the thought that each advance from the bottom to the top has been carefully prepared by anticipated study and intense research.

Thoughtless inclination leads us to believe that business men pick up their education as they go along, much in the same manner as a traveler snatches a hasty lunch at a wayside station. Few of us would think of a business man as possessing an educated intellect. This attribute is generally assigned to men of prominence in the learned professions. Such are, admittedly, natural students. We expect to hear that they have burned the midnight oil. A business man, however, is mistakenly thought to have acquired his knowledge only by hard, practical, current knocks. Those who, through friendship or close business associations, possess an intimacy with the growing great men know their secret. They are convinced that these hundred presidents have applied themselves to the acquisition of knowledge with an earnestness not surpassed by any body of professors. They have been advanced from grade to grade because they have faithfully conned the lessons of the higher grade and have earned their right to promotion.

A little boy in his father's home was standing beside some visitors who were being shown various matters of interest in the house. The party had come to an old Civil War engraving illustrating a military camp of his father's regiment. Some of the soldiers were engaged in various outdoor games, while others were playing cards. All of the men shown in the engraving were plainly "off duty."

"Where is your father?" asked one of the visitors of the little boy, who proudly replied, after a moment's hesitation:

"In his tent, of course, studying how to be promoted."

One hundred presidents, before they became such, learned well the rudiments of their several callings, and more—they learned the duties of the position above them. Do you think that any of these men squirmed easily into their advancing offices? If any of them have roughly brushed their fellows aside to make room for their more rapid progress, that is a personal matter of morals. If they have seized the prizes a little too quickly, to the prejudice of others, they may have committed a moral wrong; but, mark you! the hard work of preparation for the increasing responsibility furnished an outfit against which no retarding movement would avail. Nothing could have prevented them from ultimately reaching the goal of their ambitions. Whether or not any of these men have come to regard that which they have done as wrong and subsequently striven to right it, so far as the world is concerned they are undeniably great; and they have achieved their positions of power by means of no magic—other than that of education.

Another curious thing which will be noted in a frank discussion by these men is that they will not acknowledge that they have yet finished their education. Select any one at random, and ask him what work he does outside of his business hours. It is too venturesome to say, in advance,

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that the one man of the hundred whom you have selected as a test case will act as a spokesman for the entire party without dissent when he says that he is constantly reading and studying and discussing business. His mental pores are kept ever open, ready to absorb knowledge of anything pertaining to commerce in general and his own business in particular. He is assured that to go on he must keep constantly in touch with the ever-changing relations between his business and the aggregate of all business of a similar kind, so that matters may be adjusted to the better advantage of the particular enterprise which he commands.

Does a man who stays in small affairs engage his mind with such problems? Does the average man do anything tending to attract attention from those higher up? Does the average man try to raise himself above the average ability? No. He remains on the lower rungs of the ladder; and his position is stationary because he is wholly occupied in holding on to his present place.

Clerks in offices, banks, and stores complain that their living expenses are ever increasing while their incomes remain unchanged. What do they do to earn an increased income? If they perform their duties faithfully and well and exhibit themselves to their proprietors as good clerks, good clerks they will remain. Few business men will remove a man from a position which he is filling acceptably for the mere purpose of experimenting with him in some other place. Why should they? The clerk who is doing his duty faithfully and well, and nothing more than his duty, will never be arbitrarily removed to the higher office. That would be against the best interests of the proprietor.

Here and there is a man who has his eyes open to the great truth that the possession of knowledge takes a man out of the ordinary and puts him above the average; and he knows that a man must be above the average to rise. Such clerks study how to be promoted.

Proprietors of small business affairs frequently feel that the larger concerns are gradually driving them out of business. It is undoubtedly true that in some cases the development of an industry into a huge corporation tends to narrow the field of the smaller man producing similar goods; but in many cases where the large combinations have endeavored to crush out the small rival the big ship has unexpectedly struck a snag. The giant has met the thoroughly equipped youth.

There is in New York a man who manufactures a product ninety per cent of which is controlled by a trust. This independent, though pressed, will not join the consolidation, and time after time efforts have been made to dislodge him from his trade. He manufactures an article with a brand that has become known among a certain class of people who will accept no substitute. He is alert and vigorous, watching, studying, to counteract a subtle move by the giant corporation. Now the big men realize that, with all their capital, they have met an equal. He has been offered an exalted position and a price for his business over and above its real worth as an income producer, because he is equipped and ready to meet any man they have in the great organization face to face on a level of ability.

When a business man finds himself being crowded by competition, fair or unfair, the hard condition, instead of discouraging him, should operate to stimulate an increase in his brain capital that the deficiency in money capital may be completely offset.

Those who look about them with the light of intelligence in their eyes know that the men who are going forward are *students* in their business. Each has his own private university course mapped out from the beginning. Every opportunity to increase his business and reduce the expense of obtaining and despatching it finds him ready to appropriate the advantage. He is always prepared. His knowledge of business and all that pertains to it is acquired by much hard work in fields not bounded by his own purchases and sales.

He becomes known among his business friends generally, and among his competitors particularly, as a man of distinction in his line of business. He is an acknowledged peer. If combinations or consolidations or reorganizations of the industry in which he is engaged be under way, it is recognized that this peer must be consulted. He cannot be left out of account. If he is not treated with due considera-

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tion, he may completely checkmate the best-planned move. The man *who knows his business* is armor-clad. No power can successfully assail him. When foes call upon him to surrender, he is ready with the famous response to the effect that he "has only begun to fight."

Men fail because they do not know their business. What game is there that a man can play successfully without understanding it? What athletic contest is there that a man can enter with any reasonable hope of success without intense preparation? Open, notorious defeats of this kind are ridiculed. These men should have known better. They ought to have been trained. But it may take years for a man to fail in business. He may be able to conceal his inability for an indefinite period.

Many even land in the bankruptcy court because they have not given proper attention to their information account. Yards upon yards upon yards of stenographic reports of examinations of bankrupts form a continuous journal of confessions, proving the truth of this thought. Many of these manufacturers honestly believe themselves masters in the art of producing certain articles, but the records are against them. Some weakness, some lack of knowledge, some incorrect information, opened a seam; and, as a natural consequence, the ship sank into deep waters. Sometimes these failures furnished to the unfortunate business men the needed lesson that pointed the way to a better understanding of their business.

What confidence is reposed in a man who inspires us with his business ability even before he performs the act of service contemplated! While we are yet negotiating with him we are influenced by his utterances, for we feel sure that they come straight from the center of the magic circle of knowledge. This man has been initiated. He knows!

The beauty of this principle of business knowledge is that every man and woman may have it if they will study their business from the bottom up. While few rise to the top, the others are not arbitrarily kept down. The key is in the possession of every man and woman. That only a few open the door to the golden treasury is merely another way of saying that only a few have sufficient ambition. All desire it, of course. They want it; but they do not want it or desire it enough.

The man behind the counter or the desk or in command of a business finds little time for reading during business hours. The daily business in hand occupies his time fully, but his opportunities for study of *men* and *facts* are constantly hovering around him during the course of the hour, the day, the year.

One has but to open his intelligence to see the business knowledge ever present, awaiting only his sincere call. Sincerity of purpose will point to the occupation of much of his spare time in reading newspapers, trade and other magazines and books, all carefully selected to meet his particular wants.

What a difference there is in the information gathered from the same sources by different men! In reading, how many of us among a thousand extract other than the surface meaning of the things written on the printed page? To a few the message conveyed may be of deep significance. Many acts or spoken words, appearing in the black type before us, carry swiftly to the mind of the searcher information which may have no connection whatever with the article containing the particular acts or words recorded.

The business student, as distinguished from the casual reader, eagerly searches for principles rather than mere facts. Many facts must be memorized, of course, but the master mind will endeavor to solve the underlying principles, feeling sure that once in possession of the understanding of the rules governing matters of business, he will be able to understand any set of facts presented to him. Furthermore, a complete knowledge of principles enables one materially to adjust facts in the making. It would be interesting, if possible, to outline the various sources of information which a man should consult outside of his ordinary daily employment, but it will be remembered that our hundred presidents have come to their present educated positions through different routes.

There is no "five-foot library" for the business man. Help can be given by the friend who has studied the principles underlying all business transactions, but each

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reference library must be selected to fit exactly the requirements of the business student. With the definite object of equipping his mind to more important fields of activity and emoluments, the business man will carefully and deliberately seek to extract the essentials of business by the most economical and practical methods from the unlimited sources at hand.

THE DUTY OF IMITATION

BY BRANDER MATTHEWS

ONCE when I was chatting with Rudyard Kipling about the principles of literary art, I chanced to tell him that I had pointed out to a class of college students the several masters of story-telling in whose footsteps he had trod and by whose examples he had obviously profited. He smiled pleasantly and then slyly drawled out, "Why give it away? Why not let them think it was just genius?"

This was a shrewd retort. The craftsman himself, in whatsoever art he may be laboring, is always intensely interested in its technic, in its traditions, and in its processes. But the public he is addressing has a positive distaste for being taken into the workshop and for having its attention called to the scattered chips. It prefers to believe that the masterpiece it blindly admires is the result of intangible and inexplicable genius. It likes to look upon the artist as a magician, as a wonder-worker; and it is inclined to resent any disclosure of the hidden means whereby he has wrought his marvels. Whenever the rest of us are allowed a glimpse, however fleeting, into the studio or the laboratory, whenever the successive stages of the making of a masterpiece are laid bare before our eyes, the mystery of its creation is torn away, and as a result its reputation is instantly lowered.

Moore dealt a sad blow to the fame of Richard Brinsley Sheridan when he printed the tentative drafts of the "School for Scandal" and revealed the varied hesitations which had accompanied the composition of that brilliant comedy. Poe disenchanted a host of his admirers when he published the "Philosophy of Composition" and proclaimed aloud the motives and the methods whereby he had achieved the haunting melancholy of "The Raven." The celebrity of Shakespeare and of Molière is the more solidly established with the public at large because neither of them ever rent the veil which shrouded from vulgar gaze the secret of their supreme achievements. They abide our question; but they proffer no clues for its solution. We are left guessing as to the exciting cause of this tragedy or of that comedy; we may assure ourselves, if we choose, that infinite pains went to its making, but none the less does the work itself stand forth in its simple perfection, not narrowed in our gaze by any commentary of its author. It is what it is, and we can read into it whatever we please, since we can surmise the intent only by the result. Shakespeare and Molière may have builded better than they knew; but as to this they have made no confession, and we are reduced to conjecture only. If their art cannot always conceal itself absolutely, at least it avoids all overt self-revelation.

Stevenson was a little like Poe in his fondness for talking about himself and in his abiding interest in analyzing the arduous problems of style and of structure and the hidden principles of honest narrative. Perhaps there is no more characteristic passage in all his writings—and certainly there is none more illuminating—than that in which he described his own apprenticeship to the art of letters. It is in his delightfully personal paper on "An Old College Magazine" (in which he went back joyfully to his undergraduate days at Edinburgh) that he made his significant record of his own stylistic experiments: "I kept always two books in my pocket,

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one to read and one to write in. Whenever I read a book or a passage that particularly pleased me, in which a thing was said or an effect rendered with propriety, in which there was some conspicuous force or happy distinction in the style, I must sit down at once and set myself to ape that quality. I was unsuccessful and knew it. I tried again, and was again unsuccessful, and always unsuccessful; but at least in these vain hours I got some practice in rhythm, in harmony and construction and co-ordination of parts. I have thus played the sedulous ape to Hazlitt, to Lamb, to Wordsworth, to Sir Thomas Browne, to Defoe, to Hawthorne, to Montaigne, to Baudelaire and Obermann." Then he added that one essay of his composed at first in imitation of Hazlitt had been rewritten in imitation of Ruskin, only to emerge again and at last as an imitation of Sir Thomas Browne.

To this frank avowal Stevenson appended the moral, "That, like it or not, is the way to learn to write." And he adduced in proof that "it was so Keats learned, and there never was a finer temperament;" so also Montaigne and Burns learned, and "Shakespeare himself, the imperial." The moral Stevenson drew has been rejected by not a few youthful critics who have never put themselves through this severe gymnastic; they have scoffed both at his precept and at its result in his own practice. His style has been described as "dextrous, wonderful, fascinating," an "exquisitely elaborated piece of mosaic, but too self-conscious to be called good architecture."

But even if this assault on Stevenson's practice might be accepted, it would not invalidate his precept. Newman's style is not open to any of the exceptions which may be urged against Stevenson's; it is not a self-conscious piece of mosaic; it is "good architecture." And in his "Idea of a University" Newman had already declared the principle which Stevenson was to reaffirm; and he had already confessed that he too had played the sedulous ape. He asserted that there were certain masters of literature whose style "forcibly arrests the reader and draws him on to imitate it, by virtue of what is excellent in it, in spite of such defects as, in common with all human works, it may contain. I suppose all of us will recognize this fascination." Then comes the avowal which is so curiously akin to Stevenson's. "For myself, when I was fourteen to fifteen, I imitated Addison; when I was seventeen I wrote in the style of Johnson; about the same time I fell in with the twelfth volume of Gibbon, and my ears rang with the cadence of his sentences, and I dreamed of it for a night or two. Then I began to make an analysis of Thucydides in Gibbon's style."

We may go even further back and find the confession of Newman and of Stevenson anticipated by Franklin, who has recorded in his "Autobiography" how he in his time had played the sedulous ape to Steele and Addison, dissecting the essays of the stray volume of the "Spectator" which had fallen into his hands, and combining again the fragments in the untiring effort to surprise the secret of their easy clarity. But there is no need to multiply examples. Of a truth "that is the way to learn to write," to study in the workshop of the masters and to seek to use their tools as best we can.

It is not style only which can be acquired by this method but structure also, the larger framework of an essay, or of a novel, or of a play, or of a history. The "Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" would never have come into being if Poe and Hawthorne had not pointed out the path to its narrator; and David Balfour would not have been able to risk his many unexpected experiences if the heroes of Defoe and Scott and Dumas had not already gone in quest of adventure. It is thus that the novice can teach himself to say what he has to say, how to digest his material, how to shape it for the public eye, how to present it to the best advantage. He must learn this difficult art from many masters in turn, absorbing the processes of each of them, assimilating their methods, and finding out at last how to be himself.

Of course he must not linger too long at the feet of any of his instructors, or he will run the risk of being a copyist only. If he does that, he will take over the faults of his model rather than the merits, since these are more easily caught. There is safety in numbers, when each of the teachers serves as a corrective of the

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others, until the 'prentice artist comes into an originality of his own, compounded of many simples. As Gounod once wrote to a friend: "Don't listen to those who tell you not to imitate the masters; that is not true. You must not imitate one, but all of them. You can become a master yourself only on condition that you are akin to the best." And Legouvé said the same thing—"The only way not to copy anybody is to study everybody."

This is the advice of the wise critics as well as of the wise artists. Quintillian laid down the law long ago: "A great portion of art consists in imitation, since though to invent was first in order of time, and holds the first place in merit, yet it is of advantage to imitate what has been invented with success." Ben Jonson was as emphatic in urging the duty of imitation as Sir Joshua Reynolds was to be. And only a little while ago Brunetière repeated forcibly the counsel of these elders: "We begin by imitating our models or our masters; and we can do nothing better, for if we are unwilling to imitate or to follow anybody, life would be over before we could get to work, and it is well also that every generation should continue its predecessor."

This last remark is specially suggestive. No one of us should renounce the heritage of the ages, and no one of us could, if he would. We cannot help being our own contemporaries who are all continuing our predecessors, consciously or unconsciously. The beginner must imitate somebody, since no art can be born again for his own benefit. And if this could be, it would not be for his benefit, but for his perdition. The primitives belong in their own period, and they have their own appeal; but they are out of place to-day, and even if any of us wanted to vie with them, it is out of his power to turn back the hands of the clock.

The beginner cannot make a fresh start for himself and deny himself the advantage of what has already been accomplished in his art. If he renounces the privilege of threading the narrow paths trodden by three or four of the most important and most individual of those who have carried the torch ahead, he must perforce walk in the broad road tramped by the less important and the less individual. He has to choose whether he will seek to follow the real leaders or be satisfied with the uninspired methods of the common herd who struggle aimlessly in the rear. When the conceit of immaturity prompts an ambitious youngster to the vain vaunt that he has not read the salient works of the great men, he is at once confronted by a dilemma—either he has read the minor writings of the lesser men, or else he has read nothing at all. Imitation of some sort there must be. Why not get the best? And why seek prematurely for sharp originality, since that can be achieved in time only by the riper development of the artist's own personality. It is not by early audacities that a young man can affirm himself, but only by a patient acquisition of the traditional methods which are the slow accumulation of inherited experience. As a French critic recently put it succinctly: "If you begin by the end, you are in danger of ending by the beginning; and if early works that are labored do not imply future mastery, early works that are masterly are the manifestation of an artist without personality."

The artist can be individual, he can have an accent of his own, he can separate himself from his fellows, only as his own personality manifests itself, which it is not apt to do in youth, and which it cannot do until the artist has learned his trade. Only by imitation can he acquire it; and imitation is therefore his duty—independent imitation, and not slavish copying. "It is a necessary and warrantable pride to disclaim to walk servilely behind any individual, however elevated his rank," said Sir Joshua Reynolds, with his customary common sense. "The true and liberal ground of imitation is an open field; where, though he who precedes has had the advantage of starting before you, you may always purpose to overtake him; it is enough, however, to pursue his course; you need not tread in his footsteps, and you certainly have a right to outstrip him if you can."

Since true originality is the expression of one's own personality, it cannot wisely be sought for deliberately. It will reveal itself when it exists, and it cannot be forced. It must mature of its own accord. No man can, by taking thought, make an

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originality for himself. Lowell was as shrewd as usual when he asserted that "if a poet resolve to be original, it will end commonly in his being peculiar." And even the youngest of poets ought to be able to seize the difference between originality and peculiarity. It was not by straining for peculiarity that Milton made himself one of the most original of English poets, but by loving imitation of that one of his predecessors whom he most admired. "Milton was the poetical son of Spenser," so Dryden declared; "for we have our lineal descents and clans as well as other families." Then he added his direct testimony: "Milton has acknowledged to me that Spenser was his original." Though Milton chose to confess the imitation of Spenser, it is easy for us to perceive now that he had also not a few other originals before him—Sophocles and Virgil, Dante and Shakespeare. As Stevenson said in his own confession: "Perhaps I hear some one cry out: 'But this is not the way to be original!' It is not; nor is there any way but to be born so. Nor yet, if you are born original, is there anything in this training that shall clip the wings of your originality."

No authors have ultimately attained to a truer originality than Shakespeare and Molière, an originality both of form and of content. Shakespeare was able to give us at last the final model of modern tragedy, and Molière succeeded in perfecting the final model of modern comedy. If they had indulged in the delightful amusement of talking about themselves, they would both have avowed unhesitatingly that they also had been sedulous apes in their youthful years of authorship when they were cautiously feeling their way and before they had come into their own. Molière's earliest pieces are so closely in accord with the tradition of the Italian comedy of masks that the "Étourdi," for example, might be held up for study as the finest specimen of this species. The Italians supplied him with a ready-made mold into which he could pour whatever he had of his own.

Shakespeare started out also as a humble imitator, not of an exotic form such as tempted Molière, but of several specific predecessors in his own language. He was glaringly unoriginal in his early pieces, even in "Love's Labor's Lost," almost the only play of his the actual source of which has not yet been discovered. In "Love's Labor's Lost" he was imitating Lyly; in "Titus Andronicus" he was imitating Kyd; in "Richard II" he was imitating Marlowe. At first he played their game; they were his teachers then, although he was soon able to beat them at it. In these 'prentice plays there is to be detected very little of his individuality, and we can catch in them only a faint premonition of the richer Shakespearean accent which was in time to characterize all that he put his hand to. They are not yet marked boldly with his image and superscription. They are the trial essays of a clever and ambitious young fellow, experimental and almost empty when compared with the certainty and the fullness of his riper works after he had found himself, after he had come into his own, and after he had amply developed his originality. And it was by the imitation of Kyd and Marlowe that he taught himself now to tell a story on the stage. When his hour came, he was ready to do loftier things than they had ever dared; but it was only by the aid of the weapons that he had wrested from their hands that he was able to vanquish them.

Brunetière, to whom we owe the first serious attempt to study the evolution of the several literary species, comedy and tragedy, the novel and the lyric, maintained that these types were transmitted by direct imitation, and that they were modified by deliberate refusal to imitate. Whereas Regnard and Marivaux and Beaumarchais continued the comedy of Molière, each of them adapting the tradition to his own need of self-expression, Racine willfully reacted against the influence of Corneille and sought to make tragedy in certain of its manifestations exactly the opposite of what it had been in the hands of his mighty predecessor. So we can discern one explanation for the rigid skeleton of Ben Jonson's tragedies in his desire to depart from the looser Shakespearean formula; he was subject to its influence as fully as if he had accepted it instead of rejecting it violently. Racine and Jonson refused to do what their older contemporaries had been wont to do.

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Indeed, they insisted on doing the very opposite of that. And, although this may seem like a denial of imitation, it is only another application of the principle.

Very few attempts have been made to trace the long evolution of any single literary species in the whole course of English literature in both its branches, British and American; and quite the best of them is the admirable history of English tragedy for which we are indebted to Professor Thorndike. It is significant that his investigations have led him to a conclusion almost the same as Brunetière's. In his final chapter he calls attention to "the extraordinary force that imitation has exercised in the creation of tragedy. It seems, indeed, the generating power. Men are forever imitating, but they cannot imitate without change. In these changes, the variations due to environment—personal, theatrical, literary, social—arise the individual peculiarities, the beginnings of new species, the element of growth. . . . Destroy the faculty of imitation, and the generation of new forms would seem to be well-nigh impossible."

If this assertion is well founded—and the more we study literary evolution the less likely we are to dispute it—then imitation is not only the solid foundation for an ample development of any art, it is also the strict duty of every artist in the formative period of his career.

AN INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY MISSION TO CHINA

BY THE REV. LORD WILLIAM GASCOYNE-CECIL

Gascoyne is the family name of the Marquess of Salisbury. Lord William Gascoyne-Cecil is the second son of Lord Salisbury, the late Prime Minister of England. He is a graduate of University College, Oxford, is Rector of Bishops Hatfield and Rural Dean of Hertford. He is also the author of an admirable book on China, published last year, entitled "Changing China." He writes out of knowledge at first hand, for he has visited China several times. As the result of his visits there, he has become convinced that there is need of a great central university at Hankow. This university, in his opinion, ought to be undenominational, with a central body of professors; but it should have grouped about it halls of residence, or "hostels," devoted to the object of supplying places of residence for the students and necessary discipline and supervision, and maintained by the various missions. The plan has the hearty and enthusiastic support of such representative men as Sir Robert Hart, for many years the head of Chinese Imperial Customs; Bishop Roots, of the American Episcopal Mission; Sir Ernest Satow, late British Minister to China; and the Faculty of the Yale Mission College in Changsha.—THE EDITORS.

WE are face to face with one of those changes in the condition of the world the effect of which it is not very easy to exaggerate. Hitherto the rule of the white man and Western civilization have been conterminous, and although Western civilization has been inspired by a religion of Asiatic origin, it has been possible hitherto to the white man alone. The Asiatic has approached it, and, as in India, has been in close contact with it, but has, for various reasons, been unable to assimilate it. He has even been repelled by it. So the East has always remained the sleepy, stationary East, while the West, under the inspiring influence of Western civilization, has progressed and changed, and has advanced in wealth, in comfort, in power. Gradually a vital change in these conditions has been unfolded. The most recluse and exclusive nation in the East, Japan, has put aside her philosophy, her culture, her completely Eastern civilization, and has accepted Western civilization; not only has accepted it, but has so understood it, so mastered it, that in meeting in warfare one of the greatest of the Western races, Russia, she has defeated and humiliated her as much by Western military art as by

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her national courage and prowess. Japan's defeat of Russia was not the victory of the East over the West, but of the West over the East, for by that victory she has convinced every Eastern nation both of the possibility of an Eastern nation's accepting Western civilization and of the good results that will certainly follow. As the story of the defeat of Russia is told in the bazaars of India, or in the streets of Constantinople, or in the Chinese tea-shops, the truth bursts in on the Oriental mind that the acceptance of Western civilization is a possibility for these countries too. But if this victory has affected Turkey and India, it has in a greater degree affected China. China was the unwilling spectator of the titanic conflict, a province of China was actually the scene of that struggle, and China has realized the lessons of the victory. China, therefore, has turned her eyes to the West, and one of the most momentous changes in the history of the world is developing before our eyes, namely, the acceptance by the Chinese of the civilization of the West. Four hundred millions of population—more than a fourth of the total of humanity—will be added to the world which describes itself by the epithet Western.

America has had a large share in causing this movement, both directly and indirectly: directly by sending out to the mission field some of the finest of her sons, who have preached the cause of Christianity with eloquence and commended it by self-sacrifice; indirectly by being largely instrumental in making that change in the opinion of Japan which has so powerfully influenced China. Japan's success has had the effect that all success has: it has produced imitators of her methods. Japan was the land of mystery, and, ignorant of the progress of the West, was at the mercy of the weakest of Western nations. Japan is now, after the defeat of Russia, a world power before whose armed might the haughtiest of Western nations has had to yield. Can any one wonder that China, looking at Japan, has determined to follow in her steps and tread the same path that has led Japan to victory? For, after all, what is Japan compared to China?—a small country, a tiny country, one which has but an eighth part or less of her population. Yet what is China compared to Japan in the eyes of the world? China is powerless and Japan is powerful; China cannot even secure her own territory from invasion, while Japan is able to invade the territory of others.

Can you wonder that China is daily saying, "I must follow in the footsteps of Japan," and therefore is trying hard to acquire the Western knowledge which has made Japan so great? This is the great fact which meets the world. The world may be ignorant, the world may be indifferent, but facts are facts, and facts prove stubborn things.

Of course this is not yet an accomplished fact. Even now the great mass of toiling, hard-working, non-thinking China is absolutely Chinese. Even now the old conservative Chinese gentleman is Chinese. But the young men, the thinking men, the coming men, are no longer learned only in Chinese lore and Chinese culture. These have turned to the West and have tried to learn the great learning of the West, after the example of the Japanese. They have sent their sons to Tokyo, and they have done more. They have sent their sons to the Western universities. Already Chinese students in America may be numbered by the hundreds.

It is hard for an American to realize what a sacrifice this means. Living is cheap in China. A ten-cent piece brings as much to the Chinese as the dollar does to the American.

Multiply the cost tenfold, and then think what it would mean to send your child to China to receive an education, and you have some idea of what China, either through her provincial governments or through private individuals, is paying for Western education. America has indeed been forward in welcoming the sons of China to her universities; nay, she has done more—she has sent some of the ablest of her sons to educate the Chinese. No one who has seen the splendid educational institutions raised by Americans in China will doubt that America has been China's greatest friend in this matter.

From Canton in the far south to Peking in the north you will find these splendid monuments of America's generosity and of her faithfulness to the highest ideals of education and of religion. I

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recall an evening walk in that hot and crowded city of Canton, and the sense of peace that came over us as we passed from the noise and smell to the supreme quiet of the Presbyterian College, and of the hospital where women learn to give their sisters the help and comfort of Western medicine.

And again I recall that wonderful work which President Hawks Pott is doing near Shanghai, where he is training boys who will afterwards prove to be the guides of their fatherland.

Or again, President Anderson's work at Suchow, where he is molding the young men of that district to be wise and prudent leaders of the people.

Or, again, the great work that the Methodists and Christians are carrying on at Nanking. Boone College, Wuchang, again, under President Jackson, adorns China with knowledge and America with a reputation for being the nation that encourages enlightenment.

President Lowry, in Peking, is a fit representative in the capital of China of the zeal and energy of the Methodist educator. While the Nestor among educators, Professor Martin, is no longer able to stand in the forefront of the educational world, still by his wisdom he encourages those on whom the burden of the day now rests.

Professor Sheffield shows at Tungchow the best example of that which we should all desire—co-operation in educational work.

But why should I fill your pages with examples of American zeal for education in China, when the whole world knows how Yale, in the face of persecution, has most ably maintained its cause, at infinite risk, in Changsha? America has indeed done nobly, yet it would be idle to pretend that enough, or anything like enough, has been done.

After all, it is but the fringe of this subject that she has touched, and, if the work is to be of lasting benefit to China, much more remains to be done.

China is wandering and groping about her, but she has found at present neither educational nor spiritual light. I had the privilege of visiting many schools in China under the national authorities, and I never saw anything that showed that China had yet attained what she sought. The effect left on my mind by what I saw was that of a huge blind being seeking for and craving the light, yet unable to find what she sought.

After my first visit to China I put these matters before some friends at Oxford and Cambridge, only to find that they were but too thoroughly alive to the whole difficulties of the problem—for there are many difficulties—and yet were most desirous of doing what they could to help China in her need. They appointed committees who examined and discussed the whole situation, and asked information from every one whom they thought would be able to give it. The plan that seemed to commend itself was that they should take the lead in founding an establishment for higher education, or a university which should focus all the disjointed and isolated efforts that are being made towards education; that it should not supplant, so much as support, work that was already established.

Two facts emerged from the very first; namely, that the splendid work that the missionaries have done in the past and the great hold they have on the sympathies of the men who are forming "Young China" entitle them to receive, even if they do not compel the home universities to give, every consideration. The second view was somewhat similar; namely, that without co-operation between those interested in education no efficient work can be done. With these two views before them, the following scheme was evolved. First, that the university should be provided on a dual basis in which the position which the missionary bodies have attained should be frankly recognized. Second, that educational matters should be controlled by educators. The final plan evolved was that a university should be founded which should consist of a central institution which should teach but not lodge its pupils, and, second, of hostels or colleges which should lodge, feed, and control the students and also give them religious teachings.

In some ways the constitution of the university would resemble that of the United States. The university would represent the Federal body, while the individual States would be represented by

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the hostels or colleges. The colleges would be self-governing, and would as a rule be controlled by some missionary or other body which had educational interest in China.

In every way it is hoped that the moral influence of sincere men would be brought to bear on boys during the most impressionable period of their lives, and that boyhood should not receive that which is most dangerous to all youth, a confused idea of right and wrong.

The same missionary body, for instance, which had hitherto trained and tended the boy would still lead him while he trod the paths of higher knowledge.

We know even in the West how often the sudden rush of great ideas and wide views on the sensitive intellect brought up in beautiful but narrow surroundings has, instead of a beneficial, a pernicious effect. The narrow view is widened too roughly, the great ideas tend not to illuminate but to darken, with the result that the greatness of human knowledge produces a pessimist who can believe only in things material. But with the Chinaman the effect is far more extreme. His original ideas of right and wrong have been shaken by Western knowledge. Western knowledge and Western civilization are too often destructive and not constructive. They remove all the old moral landmarks, and, unless great trouble is taken, leave man in the desert of life without anything to guide him through its dangers. The great function of the hostels would be to build up character; they would therefore seek not only to preserve that which was good in the Chinese ethics, but, where destruction in the ethics is inevitable, they would try to replace it by ethics founded upon Christianity. It would be the primary duty of the hostel to teach religion as the foundation of all character. And, in pursuance of this aim, the hostels would be encouraged to found the preceptorial system, a system which is also very beneficial in securing thoroughness in intellectual culture.

On the other hand, the university would abstain from giving any religious teaching, though all its teaching would be absolutely sympathetic with the missionary work. In fact, the whole faculty would be in full sympathy with missionary ideals. The university would teach knowledge from a Christian, but a non-sectarian, point of view, while it is hoped that the greater bulk of the hostels would be denominational. The university would be furnished with all that expensive apparatus which is at the present time necessary to understand the most advanced science, with laboratories and libraries and so on.

I understand that the educators of America have received the idea favorably, and that they will appoint a committee, as representative of the leading educational opinion as that which represents the English universities, to negotiate with them as to the appointment of a Board of Governors and Trustees to be the alternate controlling body. It is not, of course, suggested that the direction of the university should be in the home lands. The Home Board would appoint a Committee of Management to represent them on the spot. For no university for China can ever really serve China unless it is directed in China.

And here I may say that this university is not to be an alien but a national institution. From the first Chinese are to be associated with its management, and, when China develops professors of equal learning to the educators of the West, it is intended that the West shall yield to the East and the staff shall become Chinese.

Before any action was taken this scheme was submitted to the mission bodies in China. It was put before them in Peking and Hankow, in Nanking and in Shanghai, and was in all cases welcomed. Subsequently the Home Boards both in America and in England were asked, and again the answer was satisfactory. I think I may say that the three points that attracted the mission bodies were, first, that no missionary body is to be asked to sacrifice convictions in this matter. Much as the mission bodies long for union work and co-operation, many have been deterred from taking any active steps by a fear that co-operation must be dearly purchased at the price of sincerity. Many feel that they cannot conscientiously agree with the teaching of their brother missionaries, and yet to express that disagreement to their pupils would be to render all union work inefficient, for nothing is so fatal to the usefulness of a teacher as to

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have his authority shaken by the suggestion that the pupil must not always agree with him. If, on the other hand, the missionary keeps silence and refuses to disclose to his pupil his real views on some doctrinal subject, the result must be an atmosphere of insincerity. And therefore many a missionary has said, Much as I long to co-operate, I cannot, at the price of sincerity. But in the suggested university the missionaries will not be asked to make any such sacrifice. Each hostel will definitely belong to a mission body, which will have complete control over the teaching given in that hostel.

The second point that attracted the mission body was that their funds would be relieved from the heavy burden that has been put upon them by an educational policy. Every mission body now finds itself cramped and confined for money. Nothing has so burdened them as the task of providing not only the building but the apparatus that is necessary for modern educational work. It has seemed to all incongruous that the subscriptions that are given, very likely by those who can ill afford them, for the furtherance of the Gospel of Christ are, in the end, devoted to the purchase of a machine to demonstrate some new law of electricity. But this is avoided by dividing the scope of action of the university from that of the hostel. The university would pay for all that was primarily educational, and would appeal for support, not to the missionary, but to the educational world, and thus the mission bodies would be relieved of this burden. They must, of course, in return expect that the educational matters will be controlled by educationalists.

The third point that attracted the mission bodies was, no doubt, the old one—the one which attracts all Christians, and yet seems so far off—the opportunity of co-operating with their brother Christians. I suppose there is no one who has not had a feeling of shame that Christians should be unable to co-operate with one another. When we see that labor can co-operate to form vast trade unions, and that capital can co-operate in the shape of huge trusts; when we learn that the civil history of the world has been the history of the increasing power of co-operation, from the family to the sept, from the sept to the tribe, from the tribe to the nation, from the nation to the empire, we turn—yes, I repeat it—with a feeling of shame to the Christian world, and long that Christians might develop some similar power of co-operation which has made mankind efficient in other spheres of activity. This is possible if the two main lines of this scheme are kept firmly in view—namely, that the university shall be essentially an educational body, controlled by educators in sympathy with Christianity, and whose desire it is to assist, not to hinder, the wonderful work the missionaries are doing; and that the hostels, on the other hand, shall be controlled by missionaries or by other bodies whose object it shall be to transmit to the Chinese the great traditions of the West which are undoubtedly founded upon Christianity, and which therefore in most cases must be taught by those who have a sincere faith in Christianity. Though most hostels should be controlled by missionary bodies, it would be unwise, for a variety of reasons, to make this rule one without exception. Bodies similar to the Yale Mission would be heartily welcomed, and other bodies might wish to have a hostel whose influence would be doubtless beneficial, and yet who would not be in any sense a missionary body.

We Christians who are convinced of the power of our religion are inclined to be fearless in this matter. We do not tremble at the suggestion that those who are not Christians may come to the university; we welcome them, for we are convinced that, if only those who do not believe are brought into contact with the beautiful lives and true faith of sincere and earnest Christians, the tendency will be, not that Christians will desert their faith, but that those who disbelieve will accept Christianity. The bold Christian speaks without fear; we have conquered in the past, and we will win in the future. We need no fortifications to protect ourselves in the battle of life; it is the warrior who fears and who knows he is the weakest that skulks behind the defending wall. The conqueror asks for a fair field and no favor.

Numbers would come to this university as unbelievers, probably as hostile to Christianity; many a Saul would be

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among their number; but as they realized the beauty and power of Christianity, as it was shown forth by the saintly life of a missionary in the pure atmosphere of a Christian hostel, the vision of the Damascus road would come to many, and from the Church's greatest persecutors would arise her most mighty defenders.

THE NEW BOOKS

Mr. Will H. Low is both artist and critic. This dual capacity is well disclosed in Mr. Low's latest publication, "A Painter's Progress." If a critic is also an artist, he speaks—especially to his brother artists—with an impact absent for the most part from the opinions of one who is not an active artist, no matter what his intellectual equipment may be. Certainly in Mr. Low's pages we breathe the atmosphere of a creatively artistic temperament. It could never be content with mere criticism; it has accomplished and is accomplishing notable achievements. Mr. Low's quality, partly intuitive, partly intellectual, would vitalize a mass of ductile clay or the three primary colors. When such a man describes the art instinct's awakening, we ought to sit up and take notice. In this little book Mr. Low does so describe it. He looks backward over his life. Deeming himself a fairly typical artist, he tells us about the first manifestations of the art instinct in a typical American city, about his student experiences in Europe, about the growth of our art during the past three decades. He records his life only in so far as it may illuminate what he has to say concerning the past and present record of art in America and Europe. Thus we have at once instructive data and suggestive commentary, accentuated by many a personal reminiscence drawn "from personal encounter with existing conditions." Surely such a book will have wide appeal. In our opinion it has but one very grave fault—there is not enough of it. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50.)

The third volume in the series of "Memoirs of the Duchesse de Dino" carries on her recollections from 1841 to 1850, a period when she was not especially active in political or social life. Her uncle, M. de Talleyrand, was dead, and with his departure much of the zest of life left her. She kept in communication with her contemporaries, through letters and occasional visits, and records many events, with comments apt to be spiced by a touch of adverse criticism. Much of her time was passed at Rochecotte, or upon her estate of Sagan, in distant Germany. Frequent visits to Vienna recall to her mind her youth and the storms of that day, "a troublesome and attractive life of publicity." She refers to M. de Talleyrand's estimate of Julie de Lespinasse, no favorite of his, largely because she was wanting in simplicity, a characteristic, the Duchesse is convinced, that influenced her uncle's actions continually. Perhaps those not so nearly allied to the great diplomat would be less impressed by his exercise of this quality. A shrewd comment upon Mlle. de Lespinasse is this: "In view of the want of principle that characterized the eighteenth century, the one safeguard for the individual was the yoke imposed by society, with its customs and demands. If one were ever so little outside that circle, there was no check, and imagination carried people very far and very low." At this point the Duchesse believes Mlle. de Lespinasse to have arrived, as she only "half belonged to society." With other great ladies of France the Duchesse pities the Prince Consort, and reflects with some asperity upon his subjection to Queen Victoria. Lord Palmerston rouses strong feelings of distrust and dislike in her mind. Of America she knows little and cares less, thinking it quite unlikely that anything good could be said of it "naturally." She tells a story of Talleyrand, who remarked, "Do not talk to me of a country where every one I saw wanted to sell me his dog." He was probably in the South when the offers were made him. She refers, in 1842, to Madame Récamier thus: "There is an ancient celebrity here, in the person of Mme. Récamier, who cannot speak in consequence of a neuralgic affection in her face. She wears a perpetual smile, which is somewhat wearying." In the innumerable biographies published of almost every period of French history, it is interesting to compare the varying points of view. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2.50.)

Not until the time of the Italian Renaissance did Aristotle's "Poetics" and Horace's "Ars Poetica" acquire a supreme authority in criticism. As time went on, however, the respect paid to these standards degenerated into mere imitativeness. In place of spontaneous expression there came a neglect of the subjective side of art and literature—a counterpart of the contemporary suppression by the Jesuits of religious spontaneity. The classical rebirth—the Renaissance—was succeeded by a pseudo-classical formalism. Against this Lessing protested, as we see in his "Laokoön." But if literature was then produced in such an atmosphere, in later generations it was to be produced in another confusing atmosphere—that of the succeeding romantic and naturalistic movements. The influence of Rous-

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seau and Diderot was already beginning to be felt in France, and was followed in Germany by that of Tieck, Novalis, and Friedrich Schlegel. Then there were to come such other "confusers" as Gautier, Rossetti, and Mallarmé, as Professor Babbitt, of Harvard, points out in his aptly entitled volume, "The New Laokoön"—a title of temerity, yet not an inapt title. Perhaps the individual inquirer may dispute some of this critic's judgments, but the general opinion may well commend Professor Babbitt's book, especially in what it says concerning the limits to be set to the prevailing naturalism in literature. As in the eighteenth century the neo-classical tendency confounded form with formalism, as the nineteenth century developed a confusion in the romantic school, so the end of that century and the beginning of the twentieth form a period of naturalistic success. If, as a romanticist, Alfred de Musset, for example, drew no clear line between his love for God and his love for a *grisette*, we find the so-called naturalists only too often degenerating into mere phosphorescent slime with their often sham mystical idealisms. Indeed, a certain parallel may be established between them and the sham effusions and mock heroics of other sentimentalists about brotherly love, constituting a specious mask for plain envy and hatred of riches and success; or of the sham reformers who, denying the existence of matter, are yet chiefly interested in the preservation of physical health! Greek society perished from the excess of naturalism, and so may our modern society perish, declares Professor Babbitt. But, as he is quick to add, the Greece of Socrates and Plato and the Sophists is rich in instruction for us. That instruction should lead to the ideal writer who combines entire spontaneity with exquisite measure, one who combines inspiration with discipline. The book should thus reveal to the reader his perhaps not fully acknowledged attitude towards literature, and that attitude is, we believe, his attitude towards life. (The Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.25.)

Dr. Kuno Francke is Professor of the History of Germanic Culture at Harvard. He has just published the first volume of an interesting work, "Die Kulturwerte der deutschen Literatur," or, as we might say in English, "The Social Value of German Literature." The volume is written in Dr. Francke's native tongue—that is, all but an English word in the preface directly under his own name, in which, strangely enough, we see in Gothic letter Harvard *University*. The first volume treats of German literature in the Middle Ages; the second volume is to treat of the Reformation and succeeding periods; the third volume, of the later classicism and romanticism; and the fourth, of the tendencies of our own day. Professor Francke writes with a German scholar's characteristic thoroughness, combined with an unwonted conciseness in a German author—perhaps he has gained concise expression because of his years in America. His style is also individual. Certainly it greatly adds to the appeal presented by the new material to be found in this work. Finally, Dr. Francke's discussion of German literature is replete with effective observations. If, for instance, he treats of the early migrations of the people, and the literature engendered thereby, he calls attention to the fact that the literature contains no word of the two great events of that time, the fall of Rome and the acceptance of Christianity. If he describes the literature induced by the centralization of the mediæval Church, he brings out in clear relief the decentralization of the mediæval state. If he describes the development of poetry during the Crusades, he also connects it with the rise of folk songs. For the benefit of students who do not read German the book should receive early translation. It does not always happen, as in this case, that the author is his own best translator. (Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, Berlin, Germany.)

Three attractive booklets came out in the Christmas season, but are equally good at other seasons to go with a letter to a friend, adding to it both flavor and body when one wishes to say much but has little time. They are all written with a purpose, and they all possess a certain quality of imagination, but each after its own kind. "What is Success?" by Walter Taylor Field (The Pilgrim Press, Boston, 25c.), portrays certain common types of American life, with a realistic imagination, for the purpose of illustrating the truth that success is character and service, and is secured by losing one's personality in one's work. Its message has something of the flavor of Robert Louis Stevenson, though it has not Stevenson's inimitable charm of style. "The Wise Man's Gold," by Anthony Hobart (The Sunday School Times Company, Philadelphia), is a combination of fable and parable; it recalls the myth of the Rheingold; its imagination is fanciful, not realistic; its lesson that gold, like fire, is a good servant but a bad master. "The Story of Gaspar," by R. W. Raymond (The Pilgrim Press, Boston, 25c.), is the imagined narrative of one of the three Wise Men returning to Palestine after thirty years and meeting there the "Son of the Carpenter." The author has done more than study the Gospels; he has lived with them; and he uses a scholar's imagination to make real to the reader some familiar incidents in the life of Jesus. In this difficult task he achieves a notable success.

To most Americans of to-day Richard Henry Dana, Jr., is chiefly known as a writer, and as a "one book man," his literary reputation resting almost altogether on his famous "Two Years Before the Mast." But the recently issued volume "Speeches in Stirring Times," a collection of addresses and letters compiled by his son, is a welcome

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reminder that he has other claims for recognition besides his classic narrative of ocean adventure. Most of the speeches included in this collection deal with subjects that were at one time of vital significance to the Nation, embracing, as they did, one phase or another of the moral conflict that culminated in the Civil War. Devoid of the fiery crusading zeal of William Lloyd Garrison, Mr. Dana was none the less an ardent and able advocate of the freedom of the slave, although he was too strong a Unionist to approve the "freedom at any cost" policy of the Garrisonians. His son thus sums up his position: "He was a Free Soiler, not an Abolitionist. He opposed extension of slavery to new States and Territories theretofore free. He preferred Washington's and Lincoln's ideas of gradual emancipation to sudden abolition of existing slavery. He felt that the preservation of the Union and of the Constitution were matters too important to risk by agitation for extreme measures. He opposed the Fugitive Slave Law, not because it was improper to return fugitive slaves as the Constitution then was, but on account of the drastic and unjust provisions of the law itself." His opinion of the Fugitive Slave Law is, in fact, set forth in this volume not only in several addresses—notably one "Against the Rendition of Anthony Burns to Slavery"—but also in an amusing paper, a parody with the underlying serious purpose of making clear to the public what Mr. Dana denounced as the "damnable character" of the slave rendition measure. Other matters dealt with at more or less length are the question of the tenure of office for judges, the use of the Bible in the public schools, certain legal problems, and the Monroe Doctrine. As may be imagined, all this makes pretty "solid" reading, but in the main it is reading of a nature that tends to enlarge one's knowledge of the history and development of American institutions, to broaden one's sympathies, and, indeed, to strengthen one's character. The volume is completed with a series of less impressive letters addressed to the son, who, in addition to prefacing the various speeches with explanatory notes, has contributed a well-thought-out and most informing biographical study of his father. (The Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $3.)

A needed book, "A History of Education in the United States since the Civil War," has come from President Thwing, of Western Reserve University. The period it reviews has been one of great changes in thought, in organization, in method. Individualist ideas have been exchanged for collectivist. Political interests have yielded predominance to economic interests. These have given rise to a new type of education—the industrial. A new psychology has come in with revolutionary effect, substituting for formal disciplines the training of mental power for specific ends. The science of education has been studied and applied anew by a large body of able men with great leaders. The half-century has witnessed an educational renaissance. An important feature of it is that the United States has become a world power in this field, as in the political, not only in the training of students coming hither from the Far East, but in the planting of American colleges in Turkey and India, in China and Japan. Japanese education derived its inspiration from America. The record which Dr. Thwing makes of the period marked by such salient features is full of information in large detail of the particulars of the progressive development—including such topics as the Athletic Renaissance, Indirect Education, and the Pension System. On the subject of Morals and Religion his remark upon "the position of the Roman Catholic Church that morality and religion are inseparable" needs the comment that this is not the position of the Roman Catholic Church alone. "To accomplish the identification of morality and religion," a great Protestant Churchman has recently said, "is the main purpose of human evolution." The given result of this brilliant period is that "the best people of a generation ago are like the best people of to-day, but the great body of the people of the two periods are unlike. A distinct lifting of the community has taken place. The average order of ability and of attainment has become higher. . . . The age of the people has come, and is yet to come in a greater fullness." (Moffat, Yard & Co., New York. $1.25.)

Closely following the publication of accounts of African hunting by Colonel Roosevelt, the Duke of Mecklenburg, and others, comes Mr. John T. McCutcheon's "In Africa." Mr. McCutcheon is well known as the cartoonist of the Chicago "Tribune." Hence the photographs and cartoons with which he illustrates his volume are of more immediate interest than the text. But both illustrations and text merit attention. Mr. McCutcheon spent four and a half months in the "big-game country" along the equator. Both the story-telling and the picturing of his adventures are of the sort to appeal to boy and man alike. (The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, Indiana.)

Sir Norman Lockyer and Winifred Lockyer have collaborated in making a slender volume on "Tennyson as a Student and Poet of Nature," the scheme of the book involving the collection and arrangement of passages in Tennyson's works which refer to the scientific aspects of nature. These passages are brought together and classified, and are supplemented by intelligent notes, and this brief description will indicate the usefulness of the book to students of the late Poet Laureate. (The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.)

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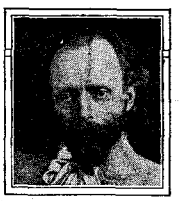
THE NERVOUS STRAIN ON AUTHORS

How they Make Good the Drafts on their Vitality. Statements of three Notable Writers

SIR GILBERT PARKER



HALL CAINE

DAVID BELASCO

ONLY authors themselves can know what vitality is used up in creative work. Some people imagine that authors have a comparatively easy time, simply waiting amid charmingly artistic surroundings, and in graceful attitudes, until inspiration shall descend upon them, when they turn to an amanuensis and dictate rapidly and without fatigue the thoughts with which they are filled. An interview with any successful writer of the first rank will quickly dispel this common delusion. The concentration demanded in searching for plot and expression is severe and makes enormous drafts upon nervous energy. The completion of a novel, of a stage production, of any work of art, is generally followed by partial collapse, like that experienced by athletes after a race. It is therefore certain that any means of relief that will keep a writer up to the mark and forestall a breakdown, will do at least as much for the man and woman in other walks of life, whether commercial, professional or social.

The very interesting way in which the brain and nerves supply the energy which results in successful authorship or commercial supremacy is detailed in a new book, "Our Nerves of Tomorrow," written by a well known medical editor. In it are set forth in entertaining, popular language, enriched with epigram and apt quotation, the marvelous way in which the brain consumes, quite as a furnace consumes coal, the elements nitrogen and phosphorus, and from these commonplace materials evolves the noblest thoughts, a glorious painting, a thrilling play, moving verse, or the fiery periods of the inspired orator. The book goes on to show that people of today do so much mental work that very often their usual food does not suffice and must be supplemented by a concentrated union of nitrogenous material, or protein, and phosphorus, as is supplied in the famous food-tonic, Sanatogen. Based on strictly scientific principles, this notable preparation has not failed in its mission; in addition to over 15,000 physicians, an innumerable multitude of other persons of every known calling, and in all walks and ranks of life, have poured forth the most enthusiastic endorsement of Sanatogen, as having, by its strengthening and vitalizing qualities, in verity renewed for them the pleasures of life. Take, for example, the words of the three distinguished authors whose portraits are shown here. The talented statesman and international novelist, Sir Gilbert Parker, writes: "It is to my mind a true food-tonic, feeding the nerves, increasing the energy, and giving fresh vigor to the overworked body and mind." David Belasco, successful playwright, man of business, unconquerable fighter of trusts, testifies: "I heartily recommend it to all those, who, like myself, are obliged to overwork. After my personal experience, I can readily vouch for its recuperating qualities." Hall Caine, prolific dramatist and author, who, it is said, does the work of six ordinary men, frankly states: "My experience of Sanatogen has been that as a tonic nerve food it has on more than one occasion done me good."

The adage of the Greek sage, "Know Thyself," is no longer a mere counsel of perfection; it has imposed a duty and a fashion. Intelligent people desire to understand the workings of the wonderful mechanism of the human body and to learn how to maintain this exquisite masterpiece in the highest state of efficiency. "Our Nerves of Tomorrow" is written for just such people; it bears a message of hope to those threatened with nervous breakdown and wise counsel to men and women who, impelled by ambition or necessity, are constrained to overwork. No victim of civilization, actual or potential, should fail to profit by reading this striking and captivating little book, and we suggest that our subscribers send at once for a copy, before the edition is exhausted, to the publisher, Mr. F. W. Hehmeyer, Everett Building, Union Square, New York City. The food-tonic, Sanatogen, we may point out, is obtainable of all leading druggists.

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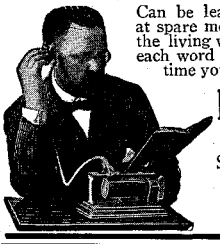

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THE OUTLOOK COMPANY
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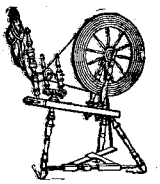

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TO USE THIS LABEL ON MATERIAL NOT Pantasote IS A PENAL OFFENSE

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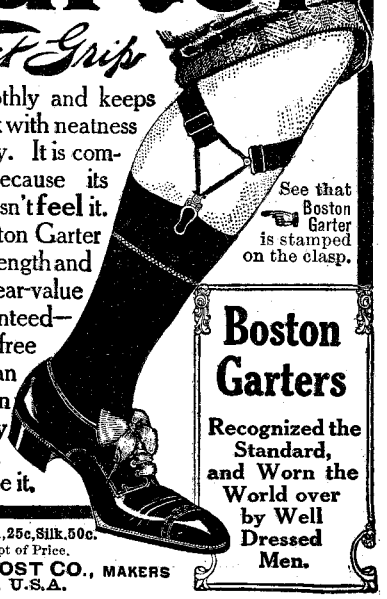

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Several parties, eastward and westward, in the fall of 1911. Independent tours.

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Rooms en suite with sun parlors, private bath or running water. Steam heat, electric lights. White Northern help. Best fishing and gunning in State. Pure water. Good roads for automobiling. Write for booklet to C. E. WORRELL, Manager.

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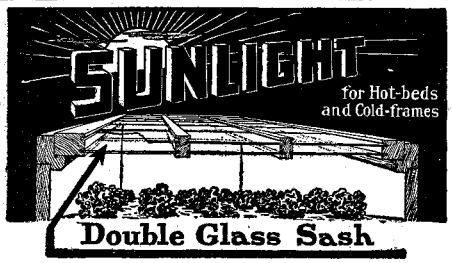

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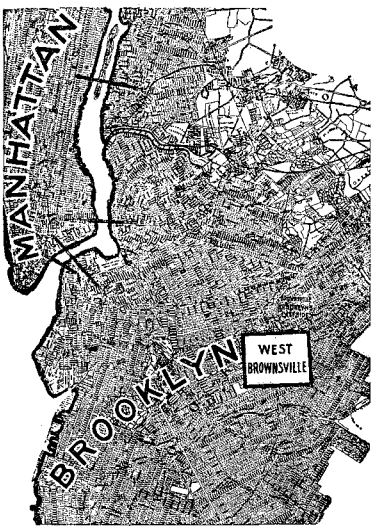

Our great problem is to put the solid and undeniable facts of New York's marvelous growth and the remarkable cheapness of our own property before you in such a way that you will accept them absolutely and completely, and we have decided on a plan that ought to settle every question for you and every doubting investigator. We propose to organize a group of Fifty Outlook Readers, composed of the first fifty responsible persons who respond to this advertisement. We invite you to become one of this number. We propose to bring these fifty persons to New York, pay all their expenses, asking them in return only one thing and that is to record in writing their honest convictions regarding our Brooklyn lots. Not one will be urged to buy. The property must sell itself, if it is sold to any member of this group. The testimony of the members will be printed without modification or amendment and mailed to every inquiry which comes through THE OUTLOOK this winter. Thus, every prospective investor will have the benefit of *1st*, The knowledge that no financial advertising is accepted by The Outlook until after the most careful and rigid investigation. *Second*, The testimony of fifty disinterested readers of this periodical. *Third*, The array of facts and figures shown in our own interesting literature.

Now write, and write now, merely stating your name and address and get full information regarding our $790 Brooklyn lots at $6 per month and details of this remarkable offer. If you can come to New York, we will be delighted and will send you complete transportation accommodation at such time as will suit your convenience. If you cannot come, write us anyway, and we will supply you with the most interesting and independent evidence that any firm ever dared publish in the History of Business. WE KNOW that we are offering the best realty bargains on earth, and we are willing to back our knowledge with our money.

(The distance from New York where we pay entire expense must not exceed 1,000 miles.)

WOOD, HARMON & COMPANY, Dept. D 8 261 Broadway, New York

Please send full particulars about your lots and your Free Trip to New York.

Name.....

Address.....

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